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# The Hakluyt Society

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THE ORIGINAL WRITINGS &  
CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TWO  
RICHARD HAKLUYTS

SECOND SERIES

No. LXXVII

ISSUED FOR 1935



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1935

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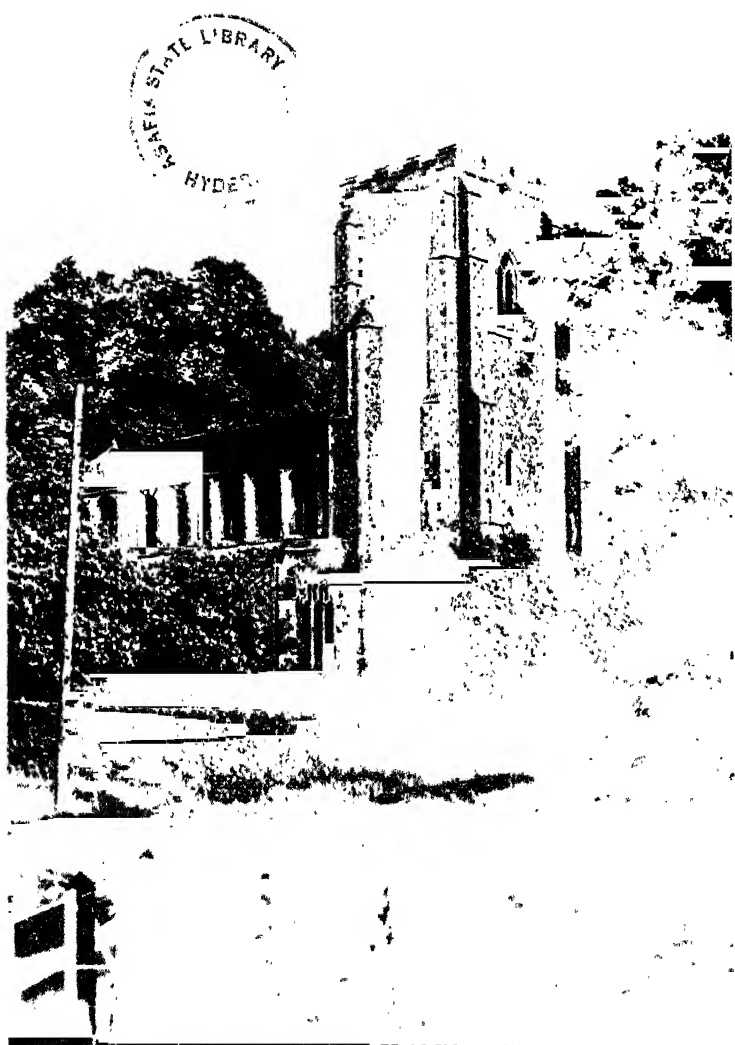
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THE CHURCH OF ALL SAINTS, WETHERINGSETT

*From a photograph by the Rev. W. W. Lillie.*

THE ORIGINAL WRITINGS &  
CORRESPONDENCE OF THE TWO  
RICHARD HAKLUYTS

WITH  
AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES  
BY

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VOLUME II

LONDON

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY

1935

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN  
BY W. LEWIS, M.A., AT THE  
CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

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DOCUMENTS  
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## Document 46

### DISCOURSE OF WESTERN PLANTING BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1584

A particuler discourse concerninge the greate necessitie and manifolde comodities that are like to growe to this Realme of Englande by the Westerne discoveries lately attempted, Written in the yere 1584. by Richarde Hackluyt of Oxforde at the requeste and direction of the righte worshipfull Mr. Walter Raghly nowe Knight, before the comynge home of his Twoo Barkes: and is devided into xxj chapters, the Titles whereof followe in the nexte leafe.

1. That this westerne discoverie will be greatly for thinlargement of the gospell of Christe whereunto the Princes of the reformed relligion are chefully bounde amongst whome her matie ys principall.

2. That all other englishe Trades are growen beggerly or daungerous, especially in all the kinge of Spayne his Domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their Bibles and prayer Bokes into the sea, and to forswear and renounce their relligion and conscience and consequently theyr obedience to her Matie.

3. That this westerne voyadge will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica, and Asia, as far as wee were wonte to travell, and supply the wantes of all our decayed trades.

4. That this enterprise will be for the manifolde employmente of numbers of idle men, and for breeding<sup>1</sup> of many sufficient, and for utterance of the greate quantitie of the commodities of our Realme.

5. That this voyage will be a great bridle to the Indies of the kinge of Spaine and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weekes or three monethes every yere, one or twoo hundred saile of his subjectes shippes at the fysshinge in Newfounde lande.

<sup>1</sup> Upbringing.

6. That the mischeffe that the Indian Threasure wrought in time of Charles the late Empero<sup>r</sup> father to the Spanishe kinge, is to be had in consideracion of the Q. moste excellent Ma<sup>tie</sup>, leaste the contynuall commynge of the like threasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrecoverable annoye of this Realme, whereof already wee have had very dangerous experience.

7. What speciall meanes may bringe kinge Phillippe from his high Throne, and make him equal to the Princes his neighbours, wherew<sup>th</sup>all is shewed his weakenes in the west Indies.

8. That the lymites of the kinge of Spaines domynions in the west Indies be nothinge so large as ys generally ymaged and surmised, neither those partes w<sup>ch</sup> he holdeth be of any such forces as ys falsly geven oute by the popishe Clergye and others his fautors, to terrifie the Princes of the Relligion and to abuse and blynde them.

9. The Names of the riche Townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the northe side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of America under the kinge of Spayne.

10. A Breve declaracion of the chefe Ilands in the Bay of Mexico beinge under the kinge of Spaine, w<sup>th</sup> their havens and fortes, and what commodities they yelde.

11. That the Spaniardes have executed most outragious and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the west Indies, whereby they are every where there, become moste odious unto them, whoe woulde joyne w<sup>th</sup> us or any other moste willingly to shake of their moste intollerable yoke, and have begonne to doo it already in dyvers places where they were Lordes heretofore.

12. That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie Princes, nor nere their Contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all tymes of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde, that Ireland beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and west sides, is the nerest parte of Europe to yt, w<sup>ch</sup> by this trade shall be in more securitie, and the sooner drawen to more Civilitie.

13. That hereby the Revenewes and customes of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> bothe outwarde and inwardes shall mightely be enlarged by the toll, excises, and other dueties w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup>oute oppression may be raised.

14. That this action will be greatly for thincrase, mayne-  
teynaunce and safetie of our Navye, and especially of greate  
shippinge w<sup>ch</sup> is the strengthe of our Realme, and for the  
supportation of all those occupacions that depende upon the  
same.

15. That spedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste  
necessarie upon these luckye westerne discoveries for feare of  
the daunger of being prevented<sup>1</sup> by other nations w<sup>ch</sup> have the  
like intentions, w<sup>th</sup> the order thereof and other reasons therw<sup>th</sup>all  
alleaged.

16. Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe and the  
enterprisers from shame and dishon<sup>r</sup>.

17. That by these Colonies the Northwest passage to Cathaio  
and China may easely quickly and perfectly be searched oute  
aswell by river and overlande, as by sea, for prooffe whereof here  
are quoted and alleaged divers rare Testymonies oute of the  
three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius and other  
grave authors.

18. That the Queene of Englande title to all the west Indies,  
or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle  
articke, is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes or any  
other Christian Princes.

19. An aunswer to the Bull of the Donacion of all the west  
Indies graunted to the kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the  
vi<sup>th</sup> whoe was himselfe a Spaniarde borne.

20. A brefe collection of certaine reasons to induce her  
Matie and the state to take in hande the westerne voyadge and the  
plantinge there.

21. A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge  
w<sup>ch</sup> is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in  
hande to the presente consideracion then for any other reason for  
that divers thinges require preparation longe before the voyadge,  
w<sup>th</sup>oute w<sup>ch</sup> the voyadge is maymed.

<sup>1</sup> Forestalled.



## Cap. 1.

That this western discoverie will be greatly for thinlargement of the gospell of Christe, whereunto the Princes of the reformed Relligion are chefully bounde, amongeste whome her Ma<sup>tie</sup> ys principall.

Seinge that the people of that parte of America from 30. degrees in Florida northewarde unto 63. degrees (which ys yet in no christian princes actuall possession) are idolaters, and that those which Stephen Gomes broughte from the coaste of Norumbega in the yere 1524<sup>1</sup> worshipped the Sonne, the Moone, and the starres, and used other idolatrie, as it ys recorded in the historie of Gonsalvo de Oviedo,<sup>2</sup> in Italian, fol. 52. of the thirde volume of Ramusius: and that those of Canada and Hochelaga in 48. and 50. degrees worshippe a spirite which they call Cudruaigny, as we reade in the tenthe chapter of the seconde relacion of Jaques Cartier: whoe saieth, This people beleve not at all in God but in one whome they call Cudruaigny. They say that often he speaketh with them, and telleth them what weather shall followe, whether goodd or badd, &c. And yet notwithstandinge they are very easie to be perswaded, and doo all that they sawe the Christians doo in their devine service w<sup>th</sup> like imitation and devotion, and were very desirous to become christians, and woulde faine have been baptized as Verarsanus wittneseth in the laste woordes of his relacion, and Jaques Cartier in the tenthe chapter before recited: It remayneth to be thoroughly weyed and considered by what meanes and by whome this moste godly and Christian work may be perfourmed, of inlarginge the glorious gospell of Christe, and reducinge of infinite multitudes of these simple people that are in error into the righte and perfect waye of their salvacion: The blessed Apostle Paule the converter of the Gentiles, Rom. 10. writeth in this manner: Whoesoever shall call on the name of

<sup>1</sup> Estevan Gomez, a Portuguese pilot, sailed with Magellan on his famous voyage in 1519, but deserted with his ship and crew. In 1524/5 he sailed from Corunna. He coasted Newfoundland as far south as 40 deg. Here he took on board certain Indians and carried them to Spain.

<sup>2</sup> Born 1478. His *Historia general de las Indias* was not published in its entirety till 1851-5.

the Lorde shall be saved: But howe shall they call on him in whom they have not beleved? And howe shall they beleve in him of whom they have not hearde? And howe shall they heare withoute a preacher? and howe shall they preache excepte they be sente? Then it is necessarie for the salvation of those poore people w<sup>ch</sup> have sitten so longe in darkenes and in the shadowe of deathe, that preachers should be sent unto them: But by whome shoulde these preachers be sente? By them no doubt which have taken upon them the protection and defence of the Christian faithe: Nowe the Kinges and Queenes of England have the name of Defendours of the Faithe: By which title I thinke they are not onely chardged to mayneteyne and patronize the faithe of Christe, but also to inlarge and advaunce the same: Neither oughte this to be their laste worke but rather the principall and chefe of all others, accordinge to the comaundemente of our Saviour Christe. Mathewe 6. ffirste seeke the kingdome of god and the righteousnes thereof, and all other thinges shalbe mynistred unto you: Nowe the meanes to sende suche as shall labour effectually in this busines ys by plantinge one or two Colonies of our nation uppon that fyrme, where they may remaine in safetie, and ffirste learne the language of the people nere adjoyninge (the gifte of tongues beinge nowe taken awaye), and by little and little acquainte themselves w<sup>th</sup> their manner, and so w<sup>th</sup> discrecion and myldenes distill into their purged myndes the swete and lively liquor of the gospell: Otherwise for preachers to ronne unto them rashly with oute some suche preparacion for their safetie, yt were nothinge els but to ronne to their apparaunte and certaine destruction, as yt happened unto those Spanishe ffryers that before any plantinge w<sup>th</sup>oute strengthe and company landed in fflorida, where they were miserablye massacred by the Savages:<sup>1</sup> On the other side by meane of plantinge, ffirste the small nation of the Portingales towards the southe and easte have planted the Christian faithe accordinge to their manner: and have erected many Bisshoprickes and Colledges to traine upp the youthe of the Infidells in

*The Prynces  
of England  
called the  
defendours of  
the faithe.*

*Plantinge  
fyrste  
necessarie.*

<sup>1</sup> Friar Luys Cancel of Balvastro was, with other friars, sent to Florida by Philip II in 1549, where they were massacred. See Eden's version of Gomara's *Historia general*, p. 319.

the same: Of w<sup>ch</sup> acte they more vaunte in all their histories and Chronicles, then of anythinge els that ever they atchieved. And surely if they had planted the gospell of Christe purely as they dyd not, they mighte justly have more rejoyced in that deede of theirs then in the conqueste of the whole Contrie or in any other thinge whatsoever. The like may be saied of the Spaniardes, whoe (as yt is in the preface of the last edition of Osorius *de rebus gestis Emanuelis*) have established in the West Indies three Archebisshopricks, to witt, Mexico, Lima, and Cusco, and thirtene other Bisshopricks there named, and have builte above CC. houses of Relligion in the space of fyftie yeres or thereaboutes: Now yf they, in their superstition, by meanes of their plantinge in those partes, have don so greate thinges in so shorte space, what may wee hope for in our true and syncere Relligion, proposinge unto ourselves in this action not filthie lucre nor vaine ostentation as they in deede did, but principally the gayninge of the soules of millions of those wretched people, the reducinge of them from darkenes to lighte, from falshoodde to truthe, from dombe Idolls to the lyvinge god, from the depitt of hell to the highest heavens. In the 16. of the Actes of the Apostles when Paule soughte to preache in Asia and to goo into Bithinia, the holy ghoste suffred him not: But at Troas a vision appered unto him by nighte: There stode a man of Macedonia and prayed hym, sayenge: Come into Macedonia and helpe us: And after he had seene the vysion, ymmediatly he prepared to goe into Macedonia, beinge assured that the Lorde had called him to preache the gospell unto them: Even so wee whiles wee have soughte to goo into other Contries (I woulde I might say to preache the gospell) God by the frustratinge of our actions semeth to forbydd us to followe those courses, and the people of America crye oute unto us their nexte neighbours to come and helpe them, and bringe unto them the gladd tidinges of the gospell. Unto the Prince and people that shalbe the occasion of this worthie worke, and shall open their cofers to the furtheraunce of this most godly enterprise, God shall open the bottomles treasures of his riches and fill them w<sup>th</sup> aboundance of his hidden blessings: As he did to the goodd Queene Isabella, w<sup>ch</sup> beinge in extreme necessitie, laied her owne Jewells to

gage for money to furnishe oute Columbus for the firste discovery of the weste Indies: And this enterprize the Princes of the Relligion (amonge whome her Ma<sup>tie</sup> ys principall) oughte the rather to take in hande, because the papistes confirme themselves and drawe other to their side, shewing that they are the true Catholicke Church because they have bene the onely converters of many millions of Infidells to Christianitie: Yea, I my selfe have bene demaunded of them howe many Infidells have bene by us converted? Whereunto albeit I alleaged the example of the mynisters w<sup>ch</sup> were sente from Geneva w<sup>th</sup> Villegagnon into Bresill, and those that wente w<sup>th</sup> John Ribault into Florida, as also those of our nation that went w<sup>th</sup> ffroncher, S<sup>r</sup> ffrances Drake, and ffenton, yet in very deede I was not able to name any one Infidell by them converted: But god quoth I hath his tyme for all men, whoe calleth some at the nynthe, and some at the eleventh hower. And if it please him to move the harte of her Ma<sup>tie</sup> to put her helping hande to this godly action she shall finde as willinge subjectes of all sortes as any other prince in all christendome: And as for the boasting of your conversion of such multitudes of Infidells, yt may justly be coumpted rather a perversion, seeinge you have drawn them as yt were oute of Sylla into Charibdis, that is to say from one error into another. Nowe therefore I truste the time ys at hande when by her Maties forwardnes in this enterprise not onely this obiection and suche like shalbe aunswered by our frutefull labor in godds harvest amonge the Infidells, But also many inconveniences and strifes amongst o<sup>r</sup>selves at home in matters of Ceremonies shalbe ended: For those of the Clergye w<sup>ch</sup> by reason of idlenes here at home are nowe alwayes coyninge of newe opynions, havinge by this voyadge to sett themselves on worke in reducinge the Savages to the chefe principles of our faithe, will become lesse contentious, and be contented with the truthe in Relligion already established by authoritie:<sup>1</sup> So they that shall beare the name of Christians shall shewe themselves

*A question of  
the adversary.*

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt was thoroughly Erastian, and had no sympathy either with the Puritans, who objected to such ceremonies as were retained in the Church of England, or with the Catholics. The 'Brownists' had come into prominence since 1582.

worthye of their vocation, so shall the mouthe of the adversarie be stopped, so shall contention amongst Brethren be avoyded, so shall the gospell amonge Infidells be published.

Cap. 2.

That all other englishe trades are growen beggerly or dangerous especially dangerous in all the kinge of Spayne his domynions, where our men are dryven to flinge their bibles and prayer bookes into the sea, and to forswear and renounce their Relligion and conscience, and consequently their obedience to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>.

Wee are now to consider the qualitie and condition of all the trades w<sup>ch</sup> at this day are frequented by our nation: And firste to begynne southwarde and so come to the Northe, leavinge Bresill and Guynea where wee have little to doe: Let us firste *Barbary.* speake of our trade in Barbarie: If any of our shippes tradinge thither be dryven upon the coaste of Spaine, and that prooffe may be made that wee have bene there, they make it a very sufficient cause of confiscation of shippe and goodds, and so they thruste our men into the Inquisition, chardginge them that they bringe armo<sup>r</sup>, munition, and forbidden marchandize to strengthen the Infidells againste these partes of Christendome: w<sup>ch</sup> thinge is committed to printe and confessed by all our marchantes tradinge thither: And thoughe our men escape the Spaniardes tyrannie, yet at the deathe of the Prince in Barbary, all our mennes goodds there are subjecte to the spoile, the custome of the Contrie permittinge the people to robbe and rifle until an nother kinge be chosen w<sup>th</sup>oute making any kinde of restitution. Besides that inconvenience, the trafficque groweth daily to worse termes then heretofore. I omitt to shewe here howe divers have bene undon by their servauntes w<sup>ch</sup> have become Renegadoes, of whome by the custome of the Contrie their M<sup>rs</sup> can have no manner of recoverye, neither call them into Justice.<sup>1</sup> In all the kinge of Spaines domynions our men are either inforced w<sup>th</sup> wounded consciences to playe the dis-

*The Domynions of the Kinge of Spayne.*

<sup>1</sup> Roger Bodenham was probably his informant. The Barbary trade was reorganised in 1585.

semblinge hipocrites, or be drawen to mislike w<sup>th</sup> the state of Relligion mainteyned at home, or cruely made away in the Inquisition: Moreover he being our mortall enemye, and his Empire of late beinge encreased so mightely, and our necessitie of oiles and of coulours for our clothinge trade beinge so greate, he may arreste almoste the one halfe of our navye,<sup>1</sup> our traficque and recourse beinge so greate to his domynions. For the new trade in Turkey besides the greate expences in mayneteyninge a kind of Embassador at Constantinople, and in sendinge of presentes to Selym the graunde Segnior and to divers of his insatiable Bassaes, our marchantes are faine w<sup>th</sup> large rewardes to gratifie the Knightes of Malta in whose daunger their shippes muste often passe: Moreover that trade is so moche to the detrymente of the state of Venice, and all the other states of Italie, that they are dayly occupied in seekinge howe they may overthrowe the same. Neither is it the leaste incommoditie that our shippes are contynually assaulted by the Corsaries and pirates and gallies of Algiers by w<sup>ch</sup> they had a rich shippe, called the Mary Martin soncke this yere;<sup>2</sup> and the last yere another was taken at Trypoly in Barbary, and the M<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> another hanged, and the reste made slaves:<sup>3</sup> Besides the barke Reynoldes was arrested at Malta, and at lengthe w<sup>th</sup> moche adoe delivered.<sup>4</sup> To leave the Levant and to come to ffraunce, the traficque there of myne owne knowledge is growen to such decaye partely by the ympositions and taxes w<sup>ch</sup> are daily devised by the kinge partely by their subtill sleights and devises to confiscate our clothes for insufficient workemanshippe, and partely by their owne labour in makinge more and better clothe then heretofore they were accustomed, that our men for the moste parte are wearye of the Contrie, and some of them utterly undone by their subtill and unconcionable wrangling. As for all Flaunders and the lowe Contries, these eightene yeres moste cruell civill warres<sup>5</sup> have so spoiled the traficque there, that there is nothinge but

*The trade of  
Turkey.*

*Fraunce.*

*Flaunders.*

<sup>1</sup> The King of Spain made a general arrest of English shipping in 1585.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt subsequently printed the Lord Mayor's letter of complaint, written from London in July 1584.

<sup>3</sup> The *Jesus*. Her story was written by Thomas Sanders.

<sup>4</sup> In 1582. Hakluyt was probably indebted to Richard Staper for this information.

<sup>5</sup> Since 1566.

*Estlande.**Denmarke.**Russye.*

povertie and perill, and that w<sup>ch</sup> is worse, there is no hope of any speedy amendemente. To come to the Esterlinges and the trades w<sup>th</sup> the cities w<sup>th</sup>in the sounde of Denmarke, they beinge deprived of the olde priuiledges of the Stilliarde here in London, have not only offred our men at home many injuries in their Cities, but seeke all the meanes they can devise wholly to cutt of all our occupieng that way: And to the same purpose have lately cleane debarred our men of their accustomed and auncient priuiledges in all their greate Townes: Also the exactions of the kinge of Denmarke at our passage in and oute by the sounde to Lubecke, Danske, Elvinge, Rye, Revell, and the Narve, besides the power that he hath to arreste all our shippes w<sup>th</sup>in the sounde at his pleasure, are twoo no small inconveniencies and myschefes: Our trade into Muscovye ys the laste, w<sup>ch</sup> was so chardgeable in the begynnynge, what w<sup>th</sup> the coste of the discoverie, what w<sup>th</sup> presentes to the Empero<sup>r</sup>, together with the disorderly dealinge of their factors, that it stooode them in fourscore thousande poundes before they broughte it to any goodd passe. And nowe after longe hope of gayne, the Hollanders as also the men of Depe are entred into their trade by the Emperours permission, yea whereas at the firste our men paid no custome, of late yeres contrarie to their firste priuiledge they have bene urged to pay yt: Also the chardges of bringinge the Empero<sup>rs</sup> Embassador hither, and mayneteyninge him here, and the settinge furthe of her Majesties Embassado<sup>r</sup> thither w<sup>th</sup> presentes to the Empero<sup>r</sup>, lyenge all upon the poore Marchantes neckes, is no easie burden unto their shoulders. And to encrease the same, the kinge of Denmarke requireth a tribute of them though they touche not upon any of his domynions: And nowe the Empero<sup>r</sup> of Russia beinge late deade,<sup>1</sup> yt is greatly feared that the voyadge wilbe utterly overthrowen, or els become not worthe the contynuaunce. Thus havinge regarde unto the premisses, yt behoveth us to seeke some newe and better trade of lesse daunger and more securitie, of lesse damage, and of more advantage. The rather to avoide the wilfull perjurie of suche of our Englishe nation as trade to Spaine and other of kinge Phillipps domynions, where

<sup>1</sup> In 1584.

this oathe followinge ys usually ministred unto the M<sup>r</sup> of our shippes. Firste he willeth the M<sup>r</sup> to make a crosse w<sup>th</sup> his fore finger and his thombe layenge one over the other crossewise, This beinge don, he saieth these wordes followinge: You shall sweare to speake the truthe of all thinges that shalbe asked of you, and yf you doo not, that god demaunde yt of you; and the englishe M<sup>r</sup> muste saye Amen. You shall sweare by that crosse that you bringe no man in your shippe but suche as are goodd christians, and doo beleve as our Catholicke church of Rome dothe beleve. Nexte that you bringe no manner of bookes but suche as are allowed by our Catholicke Church of Rome. And that you use no manner of prayers but suche as are allowed by our Church of Rome. What marchandize bringe you, suche and suche. Wee will and commaunde you and your Companie to come on lande to masse every sonday and holyday upon paine of discommunicacion. Then they open their chestes and looke if the M<sup>r</sup> and maryners bringe any bookes w<sup>th</sup> them in their chests.<sup>1</sup> This don the officers that come w<sup>th</sup> the preestes aske of the M<sup>r</sup> and maryners, chese, butter, befe, bacon, and candles as beggers, and they give it to them for feare they have of them, and so they goe from the shippes w<sup>th</sup> their walletts full of victualls. The M<sup>r</sup> doth pay 4. Ryalls of plate for the Barke that bringeth them aboorde to visite them. Thus is wilfull perjurye permitted by the governours if they knowe it. Thus the covetous marchante wilfully sendeth headlonge to hell from day to day the poore subjectes of this Realme. The marchant in England cometh here devoutly to the communion, and sendeth his sonne into Spaine to here masse.<sup>2</sup> These thinges are kepte secrete by the marchantes, and suche as depende upon the trade of marchandize are lothe to utter the same.

<sup>1</sup> John Frampton was seized by the Inquisitors, because they found a forbidden book in his sea-chest.

<sup>2</sup> For the Hispaniolised Englishman see *supra*, p. 8.



## Cap. 3.

That this westernne voyage will yelde unto us all the commodities of Europe, Affrica and Asia, as farr as wee were wonte to travell, and supplye the wantes of all our decayed trades.

The nexte thinge ys that nowe I declare unto you the commodities of this newe westernne discoverie, and what marchandize are there to be had, and from thence to be expected: wherein firste you are to have regarde unto the scituacion of the places, which are left for us to be possessed. The Contries therefore of America whereunto we have juste Title as being firste discovered by Sebastian Gabote at the coste of that prudente prince kinge Henry the Seaventh from Florida northewarde to 67. degrees, (and not yet in any Christian princes actuall possession) beinge aunswerable in clymate to Barbary, Egipte, Siria, Persia, Turkey, Greece, all the Ilandes of the Levant sea, Italie, Spaine, Portingale, ffraunce, fflaunders, highe Almayne, Denmarke, Estland, Poland, and Muscovye, may presently or w<sup>th</sup>in a shorte space afforde unto us for little or nothings and w<sup>th</sup> moche more safetie eyther all or a greate parte of the commodities which the aforesaide Contries doo yelde us at a very dere hande and w<sup>th</sup> manifolde daungers.

*In the firste  
volume of  
Ramusius,  
fol. 374  
pag. 2.*

*John Ribault.*

Firste therefore to begyn at the southe from 30. degrees, and to quote unto you the leafe and page of the printed voyadges of those w<sup>ch</sup> personally have w<sup>th</sup> diligence searched and viewed these contries, John Ribault writeth thus, in the firste leafe of his discourse extant in printe bothe in frenche and englishe:<sup>1</sup> Wee entred (saieth he) and viewed the Contrie, w<sup>ch</sup> is the fairest, fruteffuldest, and pleasauntest of all the worlde, aboundinge in honye, waxe, venison, wilde fowle, fforrestes, woodds of all sortes, palmetrees, cipresses, cedars, bayes, the highest and greatest w<sup>th</sup> also the fairest vines in all the worlde w<sup>th</sup> grapes accordinge w<sup>ch</sup> naturally w<sup>th</sup>oute arte or mans helpe or trymmynge will growe to toppes of oakes and other trees that be of wonderfull

*Hony,  
venison,  
palmetrees,  
ceders,  
cipresses,  
vynes,*

<sup>1</sup> The work alluded to is Ribault's "*The whole and true discoverie of Terra Florida* . . . Prynted at London by Rouland Hall for Thomas Hacket. 1563". No copy is known of the French version printed in London.

greatenes and heighte. And the sighte of the faire meadowes is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue, full of herons, curlues, bitters,<sup>1</sup> mallardes, egriphts,<sup>2</sup> woodcockes, and all other kinde of small birdes, with hartes, hindes, bucks, wilde swyne, and all other kynde of wilde beastes, as wee perceaved well bothe by their footinge there, and also afterwarde in other places by their crye and roaringe in the nighte: Also there be conies, and hares, silkewormes in marvelous number, a greate deale fairer and better then be our silkewormes. Againe in the sixte leafe and seconde page, they shewed unto us by signes that they had in the lande golde and silver and copper, whereof wee have broughte some home: Also leade like unto ours w<sup>ch</sup> wee shewed them: Also turqueses and greate aboundaunce of perles w<sup>ch</sup> as they declared unto us they tooke oute of oysters, whereof there is taken ever alonge the Rivers side, and amongst the reedes, and in the marishes in so marvelous aboundaunce as it is scante credible. And wee have perceaved that there be as many and as greate perles founde there as in any contrie in the worlde: In the seaventh leafe it followeth thus: The scituation is under 30. degrees, a goodd clymate, healthfull, and of goodd temperature, marvelous pleasaunte, the people goodd and of a gentle and amyable nature, w<sup>ch</sup> willingly will obey, yea be contented to serve those that shall with gentlenes and humanitie goo aboute to allure them, as yt is necessarie for those that be sente thither hereafter so to doo: In the 8. leafe: It is a place wonderfull fertile and of stronge scituation, the grounde fatt, so that it is like that it woulde bringe forthe wheate and all other corne twice a yere: In the 9. leafe yt followeth: Wee founde there a greate number of pepper trees the pepper beinge yet greene and not ready to be gathered: In the 10. leafe: There wee sawe the fairest and the greatest vines w<sup>th</sup> grapes accordinge, and younge trees and small wooddes very well smellinge that ever weare sene: Thus have you brefely the somme of the commodities w<sup>ch</sup> were founde by John Ribault and his Companye on the coaste of America from 30. to 34. degrees.

Moreover, Doctor Monardus that excellent phisition of Civill writinge of the trees of the west Indies in his booke called

*Heron,  
curlues,  
bitters,  
mallardes,  
egriphtes.*

*Sylkewormes  
exceedinge  
faire.*

*Fol. 6. pag. 2.  
Golde.  
silver.  
copper.  
Turqueses.  
perles in  
aboundaunce.*

*30. degrees.  
The gentlenes  
of the people.*

*Harvest twice  
yn the yere.*

*Pepper  
groweth here;  
yt is longe  
pepper.*

<sup>1</sup> Bitterns.

<sup>2</sup> Egrets.

*Sassafras.*

*Joyfull Newes out of the newfounde worlde*,<sup>1</sup> maketh mention of a tree called Sassafras w<sup>ch</sup> the Frenchmen founde in Florida, fol. 46. of his Booke in manner followinge: From the Florida they bringe a woodde and roote of a tree that groweth in those partes of greate vertues and excellencies, healinge therew<sup>th</sup> grevous and variable diseases: It may be three yeres paste that I had knowledge of this tree, and a frenche man that had bene in those partes shewed me a pece of yt and tolde me marvell of the vertues thereof, and howe many and variable diseases were healed w<sup>th</sup> the water w<sup>ch</sup> was made of it, and I judged that w<sup>ch</sup> nowe I doo fynde to be true and have seene by experience. He tolde me that the frenchemen w<sup>ch</sup> had bene in the Florida at the time when they came into those partes had bene sicke the moste of them of grevous and variable diseases, and that ye Indians did shewe them this tree and the manner howe they shoulde use yt, and so they did and were healed of many evils, w<sup>ch</sup> surely bringeth admiration that one onely remedy shoulde worke so variable and marvelous effectes. The name of this tree as the Indyans terme yt is called Paranne, and the Frenchemen called it Sassafras: To be brefe the Doctor Monardus bestoweth xj leaves in describinge the sovereinties and excellent properties thereof: The nature and commodities of the reste of the coaste unto Cape Briton I will shewe unto you oute of the printed Testymonies of John Verarsanus and Stephen Gomes bothe w<sup>ch</sup> in one yere 1524, discovered the said Contries, and broughte home of the people Verarsana into Fraunce, and Gomes into Spaine.

Verarsana fallinge in the latitude of 34. degrees, describeth the scituation and commodities in this manner: Beyonde this wee sawe the open Contrie risinge in heighte above the sandie shoare w<sup>th</sup> many faire feeldes and plaines full of mightie greate wooddes some very thicke and some very thynne, replenished with divers sortes of trees and plesaunte and delectable to beholde as ys possible to ymagine. And your Majestie may not thinke that these are like the wooddes of Hyrcinia or the wilde desertes of

<sup>1</sup> This *Joyfull Newes* was a translation by Frampton of the *Historia Medicinal...de nuestras Indias* (1574), of Nicholas Monardes, a learned Spaniard, who died in 1578. The English version was published in 1577.

Tartaria and the northerne coastes full of fruteles trees, but full of palme, date trees, bayes, and highe cypresses, and many other sortes of trees to us unknowen in Europe w<sup>ch</sup> yelde moste swete savours farr from the shoare; neyther doo wee thincke that they partakinge of the easte worlde rounde aboute them are altogether voyde of drugs and spicerye, and other riches of golde, seinge the colo<sup>r</sup> of the lande dothe altogether argue yt. And the lande is full of many beastes as redd dere, fallowe dere, and hares, and likewise of lakes and pooles of freshe water w<sup>th</sup> greate plentie of fowles convenient for all plesaunte game. This lande is in latitude of 34. degrees with goodd and holesome ayre, temperate betwene hote and colde, no vehement winds doo blowe in these Regions, &c. Againe, in the 4. leafe as it is in Englishe speakinge of the nexte Contrie, he saith: Wee sawe in this contrie many vines growinge naturally, w<sup>ch</sup> springinge upp tooke holde of the trees as they doe in Lumbardye, w<sup>ch</sup>, if by husbandmen they were dressed in goodd order, w<sup>th</sup>oute all doubtte they woulde yelde excellent wyne, for havinge oftentimes seene the frute thereof dried, w<sup>ch</sup> was swete and plesaunte and not differinge from oures, wee thinke they doo esteeme of the same because that in every place where they growe, they take away the under braunches growinge rounde aboute, that the frute thereof may ripen the better: Wee founde also roses, violettis, lyllies and many sortes of herbes and swete and odoriferous flowers. And after in the 6. leafe he saithe: Wee were oftentimes within the lande v. or vj. leagues, w<sup>ch</sup> wee founde as plesaunte as is possible to declare, apte for any kinde of husbandrye of corne, wine, and oyle. ffor therein there are plomes<sup>1</sup> 25. or 30. leagues broad, open and w<sup>th</sup>oute any impedymente of trees of suche frutefulness that any seede beinge sown therein will bringe furthe moste excellent frute. Wee entred afterwarde into the wooddes, w<sup>ch</sup> wee founde so greate and thicke that an armye (were it never so greate) mighte have hydd it selfe therein, the trees whereof were okes, cypresses, and other sortes unknowen in Europe: Wee founde *pomi appij*, plomes and nuttes and many other sortes of frutes to us unknowen: There are beastes in greate aboundaunce as redd dere and fallowe dere,

*Druggs.  
spicery.  
golde.*

*34. degrees.*

*Vynes  
excellent.*

*Roses.  
violettis.  
lyllies.*

*Corne.  
wine.  
oyle.*

*These apples  
growe in  
Italy and  
are yellowe  
like a pippon.*

<sup>1</sup> Read 'plains'.

41 degrees  
 & 2 tercés.

Copper.

Stephen  
 Gomez.

Martores.  
 sables.  
 rich furies.  
 silver and  
 copper.

A capitaine  
 of Diepe.

Oranges.  
 almonds.  
 grapes.

leopardes and other kindes w<sup>ch</sup> they take w<sup>th</sup> their bowes and arrowes, w<sup>ch</sup> are their chefeste weapons: This lande is scituate in the paraclete<sup>1</sup> of Rome in 41. degrees and 2. tercés. And towards the ende he saieth: Wee sawe many of the people weare earinges of copper hanginge at their eares. Thus farr oute of the relacon of Verarsana.

Nowe to come to Stephen Gomes w<sup>ch</sup> by the commaunde-  
 mente of the Emperor Charles the fyfte discovered the coaste of Norumbega: These are the wordes of Gonsalvo de Oviedo in his *Summarye of the Weste Indies* translated into Italian<sup>2</sup> concerninge him. fo. 52. Dapoi che vostra maestà è in questa città di Toledo, arrivà qui nel mese di Novembre il piloto Stephano Gomez, il quale nel anno passato del 1524. per commandamento di vostra maestà navigò alla partè di tramontana e trovò gran partè di terra continuata a quelle che si chiama dellos Bacallaos discorrendo ill occidente: et giace in 40. et 41. grado et cosi poco piu et meno; del qual luogo menò alcuni Indiani, et ne sono al presente in questa città, li quali sono di maggior grandezza di quelli di terra ferma, secondo chè communemente sono: perche anchora il detto piloto disse haver visto molti, che sono tutti di quella medesima grandezza: il color veramente è come quelli di terra ferma; sono grandi arcieri, et vanno coperti di pelle d'animali salvatici, et altri animali: Sono in questa terra eccellenti martori et zibilini, et altrè ricche foderè, delle quali ne portò alcune pelle il detto pilotto: Hanno argento et rame: et secondo che dicono questi Indiani et con segni fanno intendere, adorano il sole et la luna, anche hanno altro Idolatrie et errori come quelli di terra ferma.

An other Frenche Capitaine of Diepe w<sup>ch</sup> had bene alongest this coaste geveth this testimonie of the people and Contrie from 40. to 47. degrees as it is in the thirde volume of viages gathered by Ramusius fol. 423. pag. secunda: Gli habitatori di questa terra sono genti trattabili, amichevoli, et piacevoli. La terra abundantissima d'omni frutto: vi nascono aranci, mandorle, vua salvatica, et molte altre sorti d'arbori odoriferi: la terra è detta da paesani suoi Norumbega.

<sup>1</sup> Read 'parallel': the writer's mind was wandering.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. in Ramusio.

This coaste from Cape Briton CC leagues to the south west was againe discovered at the chardges of the Cardinall of Burbon by my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan the laste yere 1583. whoo founde a Towne of fourscore houses covered with the barkes of trees upon a ryvers side about C leagues from the aforesaide Cape Briton,<sup>1</sup> he reporteth that the contrie is of the temperature of the coaste of Gascoigne and Guyann: He broughte home a kinde of mynerall matter supposed to holde silver whereof he gave me some, a kynde of muske called Castor, divers beastes skynnes, as bevers, otters, marternes, lucernes, seales, buffes, dere skynnes all dressed and painted on the innerside w<sup>th</sup> divers excellent colo<sup>rs</sup>, as redd, tawnye, yellowe, and vermillyon: All w<sup>ch</sup> thinges I sawe and divers other marchandize he hath w<sup>ch</sup> I sawe not: But he tolde me that he had CCCC and xl. Crownes for that in Roan, w<sup>ch</sup> in trifles bestowed upon ye savages stode him not in fortie Crownes: And this yere 1584 the Marques de la Roche wente w<sup>th</sup> three hundreth men to inhabte in those partes, whose voyadge was overthrowen by occasion that his greatest shippe of CCC tonnes was caste away over againste Burwage, and so the enterprize for this yere ceseth.<sup>2</sup>

*Stephen  
Bellinger.*

*Muske called  
castor.*

*Excellent  
colours for  
dyenge.*

*The Marques  
de la Roche  
1584.*

The nature and qualitie of thother parte of America from Cape Briton, beinge in 46 degrees unto the latitude of 52. for iij C leagues w<sup>th</sup>in the lande even to Hochelaga is notably described in the twoo voyadges of Jaques Cartier: In the fifte Chapter of his seconde Relacion thus he writeth: ffrom the 19. till the 28. of September wee sailed upp the Ryver never loosinge one houre of tyme, all w<sup>ch</sup> space wee sawe as goodly a Contrie as possibly coulede be wisshed for, full of all sortes of goodly trees, that is to say oakes, elmes, walnuttrees, cedars, fyrres, ashes, boxe, willoughes, and greate store of vynes all as full of grapes as coulede be, that if any of our fellowes wente on shoare they came home laden w<sup>th</sup> them: There are likewise many cranes, swannes, geese, mallardes, fesauntes, partridges, thrusshes, blackbirdes, turtles, finches, reddbrestes, nightingales, sparrowes, w<sup>th</sup> other

*Jaques  
Cartier.*

*Vynes.*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> The Marquis de la Roche held the title of Viceroy of Newfoundland, which he had received a commission to people in 1577. His ship was cast away at Brouage.

*Silver, golde,  
redd copper.*

*Staggs. dere.  
beares.  
conies.  
hares.  
marters.  
foxes. otters.  
bevers.  
squirrells.  
badgers.  
Cranes.  
swannes.  
outardes.  
wild geese.  
mallards.  
thrushes.  
blackbirds.  
turtles.  
wilde pigeons.*

*Golde and  
redd copper.*

*A sea of  
freshe water.*

*Cynamon.  
cloves.*

*Vasques de  
Coronado.*

sortes of birdes even as in ffraunce, and greate plentie and store. Againe in the 6. chapter of the said relation there ys mention of silver and golde to be upon a ryver that is three monethes saylinge navigable southwarde from Hochelaga: and that redde copper is yn Saguynay: All that contrie is full of sondrie sortes of woodde and many vines. There is greate store of stagges, redd dere, fallowe dere, beares, and oðer suche like store of beastes, as conies, hares, marter[n]s, foxes, otters, bevers, squirrells, badgers and rattes excedinge greate, and divers other sortes of beastes for huntinge. There are also many sortes of fowles, as cranes, swannes, outardes,<sup>1</sup> wilde geese, white and graye, duckes, thrushes, blackbirdes, turtles, wilde pigeons, lynnets, finches, redd brestes, stares, nightingales, sparrowes and other birdes even as in Fraunce. Also, as wee have said before, the said ryver is the plentifullest of fyshe that ever hath bene seene or hearde of, because that from the heade to the mouthe of yt you shall finde all kinde of freshe and salte water fyshe accordinge to their season. There are also many whales, porposes, sea horses and adhothins w<sup>ch</sup> is a kinde of fishe which wee have never seene nor hearde of before. And in the xii<sup>th</sup> chapter thus: We understoode of Demaconna and others that there are people cladd w<sup>th</sup> clothe as wee are very honest, and many inhabited townes, and that they had greate store of golde and redde copper. And that w<sup>th</sup>in the lande beyonde the said ryver unto Hochelaga and Saguynay ys an Iland envyroned rounde aboute w<sup>th</sup> that and other ryvers, and that there is a sea of freshe water founde, and as they have hearde say of those of Saguynay, there was never man hearde of that founde oute the begynnynge and ende thereof. ffinally in the postscripte of the seconde relation wee reade these wordes: They of Canada saye that it is a moones sailinge to goe to a land where cynamonde and cloves are gathered. And nowe because hitherto I have spoken of the outewarde coaste, I will also alledge the commodities of the Inlande in the latitude of 37. degrees, about the Citie of Cevola usinge the very wordes of Vasques de Coronado in the thirde chapter of his relation written to Don Antonio di Mendoza Viceroy of Mexico, w<sup>ch</sup> sente him thither w<sup>th</sup> many Spaniardes and iiij

<sup>1</sup> Bustards.

C horses and a thousande Indians to discover those Contries:<sup>1</sup> He speakeinge there of the Citie of Cevola procedeth in this manner: In questo dove Io sto hora alloggiato possono asservi qualche dugento case tutte circondate di muro, et parmi con le altrè che non sono cosi, possono arrivare a cinquecento fuochi, v' è uni altra terra vicina che è una delle sette, et è alquanto maggiore di questa, et una altra della medesima grandezza di questa, et le altre quattro sono alquanto minori, et tutte Io le mando depinte a vostra segnioria con ill viaggio: et pergamino dove va la pittura si trova qui con altri pergamini: Hanno mantelli depinti della maniera che Io mando a vostra segnioria: Non raccolgono bombaso pero ne portano mantelli, come ella vedrà per la mostra: et è vero che si ritrovo nelle lor case certo bombaso filato: et hanno delle turchine penso in quantità, si trovaron in una charta due punte di smeraldi et certe picciole pierle rotte, che tirano al color di granata et altre pietre di christallo. Si trovaron galline: sono bonissime et maggiori che quelle di Mexico. Si trovo bonissima herba una quarta lega di quà: Mangiano le miliori tortelle che io habbia veduto in alcuna parte: Hanno bonissimo sale in grano, che levano dè un Lugume che è lunghe di quà una jornada: Vi sono di molti animali, orsi, tigri, leoni, porci spinosi, lepri, conigli, et certi castrati della grandezza d' un cavallo con corni molto grandi e code picciole: Vi sono delle capre salvatice, delequali io ho vedato le teste, et le pelli de i cingiali. Vi sono cacciagioni di cervi, pardi, cavrioli molto grandi: fanno otto giornate verso le compagne al mare di settentrione: Quivi sono certe pelli ben concie, et la concia et pittura si dan dove uccidon le vacche. In the last chapter he addeth: Mando a vostra Segnioria una pelle di vacca, certe turchine et duoi pendenti d'orecchie delle medesime, et quindici petini degli Indiani, et alcune tavolette guarniti di queste turchine, &c. And for a conclusion he endethe sayenge: In questo luogo si è trovato alquanto oro et argento, che quei che si intendono di miniera non l' han reputato per cattivo. And Franciscus Lopez de Gomera in his Generall Historie of the Indies fol. 297. and 298.<sup>2</sup>

*Cevola a  
toun of CC  
houses.*

*Bombase.  
turchine.  
smeraldè.*

*Excellent salt.*

*Shepe  
exceeding  
greate apes.*

*The northe  
sea.*

*Oxen.*

*Golde and  
silver.*

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from Ramusio, vol. iii.

<sup>2</sup> In Ramusio's *Viaggi*. The passages from Coronado's *Relation* are very imperfectly transcribed by Hakluyt.



intreatinge of the seconde voyadge of Franciscus Vasques de Coronado from Cevola to Tignes, from Tignes to Cicuic, and from Cicuic to Quivera, saieth firste of the contrye about Tignes: Ci sono in quel paese melloni et cottone bianco e rosso, del quale fanno piu larghi mantelli, che in altre bande delle Indie. And of Quivera he saieth: è Quivera in quaranta gradi, è paese temperato di bonissime aque, di molto herbatico, prugne, more, noci, meloni et une che maturano benissimo; e vescono pelle di vacche e caprioli, viddero per la costa navi che portavano Alcatrazes de oro et argento per le proe con mercantie: e credettero ch'eravo del Cataio et China: per chè accennavano, che havevanono navigato trenta di. Touchinge newefounde lande, because no man hath better searched it oute and all the commodities thereof then those that were there the laste yere 1583 the space of eightene daies on lande w<sup>th</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Humfry Gilbert I will make rehersall thereof, as I finde it committed to printe in a learned discourse intituled *A True Reporte of the late discoveries and possessyon taken in the righte of the Crowne of England, of the Newfounde landes, &c.*<sup>1</sup> The wordes are these in the firste leafe: Then S<sup>r</sup> Humfry wente to viewe the Contrie, beinge well accompanied w<sup>th</sup> moste of his capitaines and souldiers. They founde the same very temperate but somewhat warmer then England at that time of the yere, replenished w<sup>th</sup> beastes and greate store of fowle of divers kyndes, and fisses of sondrye sortes bothe in the salte water and in the freshe, in so greate plentie as mighte suffice to victuall an armye, and they are very easely taken. And in the fifte chapter of the said discourse I reade in this manner: But let us omitte all presumptions, howe vehemente soever, and dwell upon the certentie of suche commodities as were discovered and founde by S<sup>r</sup> Humfry Gilbert and his assistantes in Newfounde lande, in Auguste laste; ffor there may very easely be made pitche, tarr, rosen, sope ashes in greate plentie, yea as it is thoughte ynoughe to serve the whole realme of every of these kindes, and of trayne oyle suche quantitie as if I shoulde [set] downe the value that they doo esteeme it at which have bene there, it woulde seme incredible. To this in effecte agreeth that which one Stephanus Parmenius a

*Pitche, tarr,  
rosen, sope-  
ashes, trayne  
oyle.*

*Stephanus  
Parmenius of  
Buda.*

<sup>1</sup> By Sir George Peckham.

learned hungarian borne in Buda and lately my bedfelow in Oxforde<sup>1</sup> wrote unto me oute of Newfounde lande beinge of Sr Humfryes companye: Piscium (saieth he writinge in Latin) *Letters the last yere in latin out of Newfounde lande.* inexhausta copia, inde huc comeantibus magnus questus; vix hamus fundum attigit, ilicò insigni aliquo onustus est: Terra universa montana et sylvestris: arbores ut plurimùm pinus, et abietes. Herbæ omnes proceræ, sed rarò à nostris diversæ: *Pynes and fyrres.* Natura videtur velle niti etiam ad generandum frumentum. Inveni enim gramina et spicas in similitudinem secales: Et facilè cultura et sacione in usum humanum assuefieri posse videntur. Rubi in silvis vel potiùs fraga arborescentia magna suavitate: ursi circa tiguria nonnunquam apparent et conficiuntur. Ignotum est an aliquid metalli subsit montibus, etsi aspectus eorum mineras latentes preferat. Nos admiralio authores *Afterwardes they sett the woodds on fire w<sup>ch</sup> burnte three weekes together.* fuimus sylvas incendere, quò ad inspiciendum regionem spacium pateret, nec displicebat illi consilium, si non magnum incommodum allaturum videretur: Confirmatum est enim ab idoneis hominibus, cum casu quopiam, in alia nescio qua statione id accidisset, septennium totum pisces non comparuisse, exacerbata maris unda ex terebinthina quæ conflagentibus arboribus *Greate heate in Newfounde lande in sommer.* per rivulos defluebat. Cælum hoc anni tempore ita fervidum est ut nisi pisces qui arefiunt ad solem assidui invertantur, ab adustione defendi non possint: Aer in terra mediocriter clarus est. Ad orientem supra mare perpetuæ nebulæ, &c. Nowe, to passe from Newfounde lande to 60 degrees I finde it beste described by Jasper Corterealis in the thirde volume of the *Jasper Corterealis.* voyadges gathered by Ramusius fol. 417. There I reade as followeth: Nella parte del mondo nuovo che corre verso tramontana et maestro all' incontro del nostro habitabile del Europa, v' hanno navigato molti capitani et il primo (per quel che si sa) fù Gasparo Cortereale Portoghese, che del 1500. v' andò con due caravelle, pensando di trover qualche stretto di mare donde per viaggio piu breve, che non è l' andare attorno l'Affrica potesse passare all' Isole delle Spicerie. Esso navigò tanto avanti, che venue in luogo dove erano grandissimi freddi, et in gradi 60. di *60. degrees.* latitudine trovò un fiume carrico di neve, dalla quali detta il nome chiamandolo Rio Nevado, nè li bastò l'animo di passar più

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt subsequently published this letter in full (see *supra*, p. 198).

*Rio Nevado.* avanti. Tutta questa costa che corre dal detto rio nevado insu [insino] al porto di Maluas leghe zoo. ilquale è in gradi 56. La vidde piena di genti et molto habitato: sopra laqual dismantato preso alcuni per menarli seco. Scoperse ancho molte Isole per mezo la detta costa tutte popolate, a ciascuna delle quali diede il nome. Gli habitanti sono homini grandi, ben proportionati, ma alquanto berretini, et si dipingono la faccia et tutto il corpo con diverso colori per galanteria. Portono manigli d' argento et di rame, et si cuoprono con pelli cucite insieme di martori et di altri animali diversi. Il verno le portono col peto di dentro, et la state di fuori. Il cibo loro per la magior parte è di pesce piu che d'alcuna altera cosa, massimamente di salmoni, che v'hanno in grandissima copia: et anchora che visiano diversi sorti d'uccelli et di frutti non dimeno, non fanno conto se non di pesce, le loro habitationi sono fatte di legni deiquale hanno abondantia, per esservi grandissimi et infiniti boschi, et in luogo di tegole le cuoprono con pelli di pesce, che ne pigliano grandissimi, et le scorticano. Vidde molti uccelli et altri animali massimamente ursi tutti bianchi. The reste of this coaste from 60. to 63. is described by ffrobisher<sup>1</sup> and in freshe memorye so that I shall not nede to make repetition thereof. Thus, havinge alleaged many printed testimonies of these credible persons w<sup>ch</sup> were personally betwene 30. and 63. degrees in America as well on the coaste as w<sup>th</sup> in the lande, w<sup>ch</sup> affirmed unto the princes and kinges w<sup>ch</sup> sett them oute that they founde there golde, silver, copper, leade, and perles in aboundaunce, precious stones, as turqueses and Emrauldes, spices and druggs, as pepper, cynamon, cloves, rubarb, muske called Castor, Turpentine, Silke wormes fairer then ours of Europe, white and redd cotten, infinite multitudes of all kinde of beastes, w<sup>th</sup> their tallowe and hides dressed and undressed, Cochenilio founde last yere by the men of St. John de Luze<sup>2</sup> and many other kindes of coulours for clothinge, millions of all kindes of fowles for foode and fethers, salte for fisshinge, excellent vines in many places for wines, the soile apte to beare olyves for oile, all kindes of frutes as oranges,

*Dyvers colours. sylver. copper. martori et altri animali diversi. pesce. salmoni.*

*mightie & huge woodds. mightie fishe.*

*A singular commoditie for dyenge of englishe clothe.*

<sup>1</sup> In a *True Discourse of the late voyages of discoverie*, written by George Best, London, 1578.

<sup>2</sup> The Basque fishermen, like the Bretons, were pioneers in the New World.

almondes, filberdes, figges, plomes, mulberies, raspis, pomi appij, melons, all kinde of odoriferous trees and date trees, Cipresses, Cedars, bayes, sapines, hony and waxe, and in new founde lande aboundaunce of pynes and firr trees, asshes, and other like to make mastes and deale boordes, pitche, tarr, rosen, and hempe for cables and cordage, and, upp within the graunde baye<sup>1</sup> excedinge quantitie of all kynde of precious furies, (whereof I sawe twentie thousande frenche Crownes worthe the laste yere broughte to Paris to Valeron Perosse and Mathewe Grainer the kinges skynners)<sup>2</sup> also suche aboundaunce of trayne oile<sup>3</sup> to make sope, and of fishe as a third part of Europe ys furnished therew<sup>th</sup>: I may well and truly conclude with reason and auctoritie that all the commodities of all our olde decayed and daungerous trades in all Europe, Africa, and Asia haunted by us may in shorte space for little or nothings and many for the very workemanshippe in a manner be had in that parte of America w<sup>ch</sup> lieth betwene 30. and 60. degrees of northerly latitude, if by our slackness wee suffer not the frenche or others to prevente us.<sup>4</sup>

*plancks for  
shippes oares.  
Things  
incident to a  
navy.  
sope asshes.*

*prevention  
to be taken  
hede of.*

#### Cap. 4.

That this enterprize will be for the manifolde ymployment of numbers of idle men, and for breddinge of many sufficient, and for utteraunce of the greate quantitie of the commodities of our Realme.

It is well worthe the observacion to see and consider what the like voyadges of discoverye and planting in the easte and weste Indies hath wroughte in the kingdomes of Portingale and Spayne. Bothe w<sup>ch</sup> Realmes beinge of themselves poore and barren and hardly able to susteine their inhabitaunts by their discoveries have founde suche occasion of employmente, that these many yeres wee have not herde scarcely of any pirate of those twoo nations: whereas wee and the frenche are moste in-

<sup>1</sup> Just within Belle Isle Strait.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt's father was a skinner.

<sup>3</sup> From the whale fisheries.

<sup>4</sup> French activity had been renewed since 1581.

famous for our outeragious, common, and daily piracies.<sup>1</sup> Againe when hearde wee almoste of one theefe amongst them. The reason is that by these their new discoveries they have so many honest wayes to sett them on worke as they rather wante men than meanes to ymploye them: But wee for all the Statutes<sup>2</sup> that hitherto can be devised, and the sharpe execution of the same in poonishinge idle and lazye persons for wante of sufficient occasion of honest employmente cannot deliver our common wealthe from multitudes of loyterers and idle vagabondes. Truthe it is that throughe our longe peace and seldome sicknes (twoo singuler blessings of almightie god) wee are growen more populous than ever heretofore: So that nowe there are of every arte and science so many, that they can hardly lyve one by another, nay rather they are readie to eate upp one another: yea many thousandes of idle persons are w<sup>th</sup>in this Realme, w<sup>ch</sup> haveinge no way to be sett on worke be either mutinous and seeke alteration in the state, or at leaste very burdensome to the common wealthe, and often fall to pilferinge and thevinge and other lewdnes, whereby all the prisons of the lande are daily pestred and stuffed full of them, where either they pitifully pyne awaye, or els at lengthe are miserably hanged, even xx<sup>ti</sup>. at a clappe oute of some one Jayle<sup>3</sup>: whereas yf this voyadge were put in execution, these pety theves mighte be condempned for certen yeres in the westerne partes, especially in newfounde lande in sawinge and felling of tymber for mastes of shippes and deale boordes, in burninge of the firres and pine trees to make pitche tarr rosen and sope ashes, in beatinge and workinge of hempe for cordage: and in the more sowtherne partes in settinge them to worke in mynes of golde, silver, copper, leade and yron, in draggingge for perles and currall, in plantinge of suger canes as the Portingales have done in Madera, in mayneteynaunce and increasinge of silke wormes for silke and in dressinge the same: in gatheringe of cott  n whereof there is plentie, in tillinge of the soile there for graine, in dressinge of vines whereof there is

*Idle persons  
mutynous  
and desire  
alteration in  
the state.*

*A remedy to  
all these in-  
conveniences.*

<sup>1</sup> The evidence of the Admiralty Courts abundantly confirms this. The Channel entries and the approaches to the Canaries and Madeira were favourite haunts.

<sup>2</sup> A Poor Law Act was passed in 1572, while Proclamations against vagabonds were issued in 1576, 1579 and later years.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 175.

greate aboundaunce for wyne, olyves whereof the soile is capable for oyle, trees for oranges, lymons, almondes, figges, and other frutes all w<sup>ch</sup> are founde to growe there already: in sowinge of woade and madder for diers as the Portingales have don in the Azores, in dressinge of raw hides of divers kindes of beastes, in makeinge and gatheringe of salte as in Rochel and Bayon w<sup>ch</sup> may serve for the newe lande fisshinge, in killinge the whale, seale, porpose, and whirlepoole<sup>1</sup> for trayne oile, in fisshinge, saltinge, and dryenge of linge, codde, salmon, herringe, in makeinge and gatheringe of hony, wax, turpentine, in hewinge and shapinge of stone, as marble, jeate, christall, freestone, which will be goodd balaste for our shippes homewardes, and after serve for noble buildinges, in makinge of caske, oares, and all other manner of staves; in buildinge of fortes, townes, churches; in powderinge and barrellinge of fishe, fowles, and fleshe, which will be notable provision for sea and lande: in dryinge, sortinge and packinge of fethers whereof may be had there marvelous greate quantitie.<sup>2</sup> Besides this, such as by any kinde of infirmitie cannot passe the seas thither, and now are chardgeable to the Realme at home, by this voyadge shalbe made profitable members by employinge them in England in makinge of a thousande triflinge thinges, w<sup>ch</sup> will be very goodd marchandize for those Contries where wee shall have moste ample vente thereof. And seinge the savages of the graunde Baye and all alonge the mightie Ryver that ronnethe upp to Canada and Hochelaga are greatly delighted w<sup>th</sup> any cappe or garment made of course wollen clothe, their Contrie beinge colde and sharpe in the winter, yt is manifeste wee shall finde greate utteraunce of our clothes, especially of our coursest and basest northerne doosens and our Irishe and Welshe frizes, and rugges: whereby all occupacions belonginge to clothinge and knittinge shalbe freshly sett on worke, as cappers, knitters, clothiers, wollmen, carders, spynners, weavers, fullers, sheremen, dyers, drapers, hatters and such like, whereby many decayed townes may be repaired: In somme this enterprice will mynister matter

<sup>1</sup> A species of spouting whale.

<sup>2</sup> Most of these points are set out more fully in the elder Hakluyt's pamphlet of 1585, *infra*.

for all sortes and states of men to worke upon: namely all severall kindes of artificers, husbandmen, seamen, marchauntes, souldiers, capitaines, phisitions, lawyers, devines, Cosmographers, hidrographers, Astronomers, historiographers, yea olde folkes, lame persons, women, and younge children by many meanes w<sup>ch</sup> hereby shall still be mynistred unto them, shalbe kepte from idlenes, and be made able by their owne honest and easie labour to finde themselves w<sup>th</sup>oute surchardginge others. ffor prooffe of the last part of my allegation, I will use but onely this one example followinge.

In the yere of o<sup>r</sup> Lorde 1564 at what tyme the flemishe nation were growen as yt were to the fulnes of their wealthe and to the heighte of their pride, and not remembringe what wonderfull gaine they had yerely by the wolles, clothes and comodities of England, beganne to contempne our nation and to rejecte our clothes and commodities: A subjecte of the then twoo Erles of Emden a man of greate observacion wrote a notable discourse to the younge Erles to take occasion of that present tyme by offer of large priviledges in Emden to the englishe men.<sup>1</sup> In w<sup>ch</sup> discourse the said subjecte for the better inducemente of the said twoo younge Erles dothe write of his owne knowledge, as he in his discourse affirmeth, and as also by his reporte appereth in the 22<sup>th</sup> booke of *Sleydans Commentaries*,<sup>2</sup> That, anno 1550 Charles the fifte then Emperour would have had the Spanishe Inquisition broughte into Andwerpe and into the Netherlandes: whereaboute there was moche adoe, and that neither the sute of the Towne of Andwerpe, nor the requeste of their frendes could perswade the Empero<sup>r</sup> from it, till at the laste they tolde him playnely that if the Inquisicion came into Andwerpe and the netherlandes, that the Englishe marchantes woulde departe oute of the Towne and out of his Contries: And

<sup>1</sup> Emden received many Protestant refugees. The two young Earls were Edzard and John, both minors. The negotiations for transferring the English cloth trade to Emden were carried out by the German Protestant refugee John Utenhove, who was therefore probably the author of the *Discourse* quoted by Hakluyt (see Strype's *Life of Grindal*, Bk. 1. chap. 9). Documents of this type enjoyed a carefully controlled circulation in manuscript form (cf. Lansdowne MSS. 26, No. 45).

<sup>2</sup> First published in 1555. Translated into English, 1560. Sleidan was the historian of the Protestant Reformation in Germany.

upon declaration of this suggestion, searche was made what profite there came and commoditie grewe by the haunte of the englishe marchantes: Then was it founde by searche and enquirie that w<sup>th</sup>in the Towne of Andwerpe alone there were fourtene thousande persons fedde and mayneteyned onely by the workinge of englishe commodities, besides the gaines y<sup>t</sup> marchantes and shippers with other in the sayd Towne did gett, w<sup>ch</sup> was the greatest parte of their lyvinge w<sup>ch</sup> were thoughte to be in nombre half as many more, and in all other places of his netherlandes by the indrapinge of englishe woll into clothe and by the workinge of other englishe commodities, there were thirtie thousande persons more mayneteyned and fedd, w<sup>ch</sup> in all amounteth to the number of lj.M. persons. And this was the reporte that was geven to this mightie Empero<sup>r</sup> whereby the towne of Andwerpe and the Netherlandes were saved from the Inquisition: And in the ende of the 45th article of the same discourse, also he setteth down by particuler accompte howe the subjectes of the same Empero<sup>r</sup> in the netherlandes dyd gaine yerely onely by the woll and wollen clothe that came eche yere oute of England almoste vi.C.M.li.li: I say almoste sixe hundreth thousande poundes sterling, besides the gaines they had for sondry other things that were of marvelous sommes: Nowe if her Ma<sup>tie</sup> take these westerne discoveries in hande and plante there,<sup>1</sup> yt is like that in shorte time wee shall vente as greate a masse of clothe yn those partes as ever wee did in the netherlandes, and in tyme moche more: w<sup>ch</sup> was the opinion of that excellent man M<sup>r</sup> Roberte Thorne extante in printe in the laste leafe savinge one of his discourse to Doctor Lea<sup>2</sup> Embassador for King Henry, the eighte in Spaine w<sup>th</sup> Charles the Empero<sup>r</sup> whose wordes are these: And althoughe (saieth he) wee wente not into the said llandes of Spicerye for that they are the Emperours or kinges of Portingale, wee shoulde by the way and commynge once to the lyne equinoctiall finde landes no lesse riche of golde and spicerie, as all other landes are under the said lyne equinoctiall: And also shoulde yf wee may passe under the

*Six hundred  
thousand  
pounde  
gayned  
yerely by  
Englishe  
wolles.*

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt envisaged large-scale planting from Newfoundland to the borders of Florida, only possible with State support. See *infra*, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Divers Voyages*.



northe enjoye the navigacion of all Tartarye: w<sup>ch</sup> should be no lesse profitable to our commodities of clothe, then those spicerie to the Empero<sup>r</sup> and kinge of Portingale.

This beinge soe, yt commeth to passe that whatsoever clothe wee shall vente on the tracte of that firme, or in the Ilandes of the same, or in other landes, Ilandes, and territories beyonde, be they w<sup>th</sup>in the circle articke or w<sup>th</sup>oute, all these clothes I say are to passe oute of this Realme full wroughte by our naturall subjectes in all degrees of labour. And if it come aboute in tyme that wee shall vente that masse there that wee vented in the base Contries, w<sup>ch</sup> is hoped by greate reason, then shall all that clothe passe oute of this Realme in all degrees of labour full wroughte by the poore naturall subjectes of this Realme, like as the quantitie of our clothe dothe passe that goeth hence to Russia, Barbarie, Turkye, Persia, &c. And then consequently it followeth that the like number of people alleaged to the Emperour shalbe sett on worke in England of our poore subjectes more then hath bene: And so her Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall not be troubled w<sup>th</sup> the pitfull outcryes of Cappers, knytters, spynners, &c. And on the other side wee are to note that all the commodities wee shall bringe thence, wee shall not bringe them wroughte as wee bringe now the commodities of ffraunce and fflaunders, &c., but shall receave them all substaunces unwroughte to the ymployment of a wonderfull multitude of the poore subjectes of this Realme in returne: And so to conclude what in the number of thinges to goe oute wroughte, and to come in unwroughte, there nede not one poore creature to steale, to sterve, or to begge as they doo:<sup>1</sup> And to aunswer objections, where fooles for the swarming of beggars alleage that the realme is toto populous:<sup>2</sup> Salomon saieth that the hono<sup>r</sup> and strengthe of a Prince consisteth in the multitude of the people: And if this come aboute that worke may be had for the multitude, where the Realme hath nowe one thousande for the defence thereof, the

*Objection.  
Aunswer.*

<sup>1</sup> To import raw material and export manufactures, *i.e.* to substitute an industrial for an agrarian economy, is the aim of every modern state.

<sup>2</sup> The fallacy that unemployment is evidence of over-population is current to-day. Hakluyt's estimate that the population of England could be increased fivefold was not extravagant. John Dee in his *Pety Navy Royall* pointed out that only a fraction of the country's food resources was developed.

same may have fyve thousande: ffor when people knowe howe to lyve, and howe to maynetayne and feede their wyves and children, they will not abstaine from mariage as nowe they doe: And the soile thus aboundinge w<sup>th</sup> corne, fleshe, mylke, butter, cheese, herbes, rootes, and frutes, &c. and the seas that envyron the same so infynitely aboundinge in fishe, I dare truly affirme that if the number in this Realme were as greate as all Spaine and ffraunce have,<sup>1</sup> the people beinge industrious, industrious I say, there shoulde be founde victualls ynoughe at the full in all bounty to suffice them all: And takinge order to cary hence thither our clothes made in hose, coates, clokes, whoodes, &c., and to returne thither hides of their owne beastes tanned and turned into shoes and bootes, and other skynnes of goates whereof they have store into gloves &c. no doubt but wee shall sett on worke in this Realme besides sailers and suche as shalbe seated there in those westernne discovered Contries, at the leaste C. M. subjectes to the greate abatinge of the goodd estate of subjectes of forreine Princes enemyes or doubtfull friends, and this *absque injuria* as the lawyers say albeit not *sine damno*: And having a vente of lynnen as the Spaniardes have in the rest of that firme, wee may sett our people in making the same infinitely on worke, and in many other thinges besides w<sup>ch</sup> time will bringe aboute, thoughe nowe for wante of knowledge and full experience of this trade wee cannot enter into juste accompte of all particulers.

### Cap. 5.

That this voyage will be a greate bridle to the Indies of the Kinge of Spaine, and a meane that wee may arreste at our pleasure for the space of tenne weeks or three monethes every yere one or twoo C. saile of his subjectes shippes at the fyshinge in Newfounde Lande.

The cause why the Kinge of Spaine these three or foure yeres last paste was at suche intollerable chardges in furnishinge oute so many navies to wynne Tercera and the other small Ilandes of the Azores adjacent to the same, was the oportunitie of the places in interceptinge his West Indian flete at their returne home-

<sup>1</sup> A total of about twenty-one millions.

warde as a matter that toucheth him indeede to the quicke.<sup>1</sup> But the plantinge of twoo or three strong fortes upon some goodd havens (whereof there is greate store) betweene fflorida and Cape Briton woulde be a matter in shorte space of greater dommage as well to his flete as to his westerne Indies, for wee shoulde not onely often tymes indaunger his flete in the returne thereof, but also in fewe yeres put him in hazarde in loosinge some parte of Nova Hispania: Touchinge the fleete, no man (that knoweth the course thereof comynge oute betwene Cuba, and the Cape of fflorida alonge the gulfes or Straite of Bahama) can denye that it is caried by the currant northe and northeaste towardes the coaste w<sup>ch</sup> wee purpose god willinge to inhabite.<sup>2</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> hapned to them not twoo yeres past<sup>3</sup> as M<sup>r</sup> Jenynges and M<sup>r</sup> Smithe the m<sup>r</sup> and m<sup>rs</sup> mate of the shippe called the Toby belonginge to Bristowe infourmed me and many of the chefest merchauntes of that Citie, whereof they had particuler advertisement at Cadiz in Spaine a little before by them that were in the same flete the selfe same yere, and were in person driven upon the same coaste and sawe the people w<sup>ch</sup> they reported to be bigge men somewhat in makeinge like the hollanders, and lighted on a Towne upon a ryvers side w<sup>ch</sup> they affirmed to be above a quarter of a mile in lengthe. Besides the current, it is also a thinge w<sup>th</sup>oute controversie that all southerne and southeasterne windes inforce the Spanish flete returninge home nere or upon the aforesaide coaste and consequently will bringe them into our daunger after wee shalbe there strongly settled and fortified: wee are moreover to understande that the Savages of fflorida are the Spaniardes mortall enemyes and wilbe ready to joyne w<sup>th</sup> us againste them, as they joyned w<sup>th</sup> Capitaine Gourgues a Gascoigne, whoe beinge but a private man and goinge thither at his owne chardges by their aide wonne and rased the three small fortes w<sup>ch</sup> the Spaniardes aboute xx<sup>ti</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In 1581-3 both the English and French were supporting Don Antonio in the Azores. The French fleet under Strozzi was defeated in July 1582.

<sup>2</sup> In point of fact, Virginia proved too far north for a base, although Hakluyt's statements are correct.

<sup>3</sup> Late in 1582. Hakluyt probably heard the story when he was in Bristol in that year or early in 1583, during the formal discussion of Gilbert's project with the principal citizens.

yeres agoe had planted in fflorida after their traiterous slaughter of John Ribault; w<sup>ch</sup> Gourgues slewe and hanged upp divers of them on the same trees whereon the yere before they had hanged the frenche. Yea one Holocotera brother to one of the kinges of the Savages leaping upp on an highe place w<sup>th</sup> his owne handes slewe a spanishe Canonier as he was puttinge fire to a pece of ordynaunce, w<sup>ch</sup> storye is at large in printe sett furthe by Monsieur Poplynier in his book intituled *Trois Mondes*.<sup>1</sup>

Also w<sup>th</sup>in the lande on the northe side of Nova Hispania there is a people called Chichimici w<sup>ch</sup> are bigg and stronge men and valiaunte archers which have contynuall warres w<sup>th</sup> the Spaniardes and doo greatly annoyne them: The Spanishe histories w<sup>ch</sup> I have reade and other late discourses make greate mention of them: Yea Myles Phillipps whoe was xiiij. yeres in those partes, and presented his whole travell in writinge to her Mat<sup>tie</sup>, confesseth this to be moste certaine.<sup>2</sup> Nowe if wee (being thereto provoked by spanishe injuries) woulde either joyne w<sup>th</sup> these Savages, or sende or give them armo<sup>r</sup> as the Spaniardes arme our Irishe Rebels, wee shoulde trouble the kinge of Spaine more in those partes, then he hath or can trouble us in Ireland, and holde him at suche a Bay, as he was never yet helde at:<sup>3</sup> ffor if (as the aforesaide Miles Phillipps writeth) yt be true that one negro w<sup>ch</sup> fledd from his cruell spanishe M<sup>r</sup> is receaved and made Capitaine of multitudes of the Chichimici and daily dothe grevously afflicte them, and hath almoste enforced them to leave and abandon their silver mynes in those quarters, what dommage mighte divers hundreds of englishe men doo them being growen once into familiaritie with that valiaunte nation: And this is the greatest feare that the Spaniardes have, To witt our plantinge in those partes, and joyning w<sup>th</sup> those Savages their neighbours in fflorida and on the northe side of Nova Hispania. W<sup>ch</sup> thinge an englishe

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1582. An English translation was licensed on May 9, 1583, perhaps at Hakluyt's instance, for the author urged the discovery and colonisation of *Terra Australis*, a theme he pursued in *L'amiral de France* (1584), which Hakluyt studied also.

<sup>2</sup> His manuscript was presumably written in 1582-3.

<sup>3</sup> The policy of arming savages against whites was adopted by the European colonists of the next century, but it was a two-edged weapon.

*The benefite  
of plantinge  
about Cape  
Bryton or  
Newfounde  
lande.*

gentleman Capitaine Muffett whoe is nowe in ffraunce,<sup>1</sup> tolde divers tymes this laste winter in my hearinge and others of credite, namely that when he was in Spaine prisoner not longe since, he hearde the Threasurer of the west Indies say, that there was no suche way to hinder his M<sup>r</sup>, as to plante upon the coaste nere unto fflorida, from whence by greate ryvers any man mighte easely passe farre upp into the lande and joyne w<sup>th</sup> his enemyes, whereof he stode in contynuall feare, and said moreover that that was the occasion why suche crueltie was used towardes John Ribaulte and his Companie upon his seekinge to settle there: ffynally if wee liste not to come so nere fflorida this is a matter of no small momente, that if wee fortifie ourselves about Cape Briton nere newfounde land partely by the strengthe of our fortificacion and partely by the aide of our navye of ffishermen which are already commaunders of others there, havinge or double forces thus joyned together, wee shalbe able upon every soodden to cease<sup>2</sup> upon one or twoo hundreth Spanishe and Portingale shippes, w<sup>ch</sup> for tenne weekes or three monethes are there on fisshinge every yere. This I say will be suche a bridle to him and suche an advauntage unto us, as wee cannot possibly ymagine a greater: And thus the frenche served them in the time of Mounsieurs<sup>3</sup> being in fflaunders, caryenge awaye oute of some harborowes three or foure spanishe and portingale shippes at ones, and more they woulde have taken, if our Englishmen and namely one of myne acquaintaunce of Ratcliffe had not defended them.<sup>4</sup> And hither of necessitie they must yerely repaire beinge not able to make their provision for land and sea of fishe in any place els excepte on the coaste of Ireland and at Cape Blancke<sup>5</sup> in Africa, w<sup>ch</sup> twoo are nothinge worthe in comparison to this thirde place: So shall wee be able to crye quittaunce w<sup>th</sup> the King of Spaine if he shoulde goe aboute to make any generall arreste of our navye,<sup>6</sup> or rather terrifie him from any such enterpryse, when he shall bethinke himself that his navye in newfounde lande is no lesse in our daunger then ours is in his domynions wheresoever.

<sup>1</sup> "There is here a Captain Moffet whom I have long known and know how to use" (Stafford to Walsingham, April 2, 1584).

<sup>2</sup> Seize.

<sup>3</sup> The Duc d'Anjou.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Parkhurst's narrative, Doc. 21.

<sup>5</sup> Blanco.

<sup>6</sup> As he did in 1585.

## Cap. 6.

That the mischefe y<sup>t</sup> the Indian Treasure wroughte in time of Charles the late Empero<sup>r</sup> father to the Spanishe kinge is to be had in consideracion of the Queenes most excellent Mat<sup>tie</sup> leaste the contynuall comynge of the like treasure from thence to his sonne, worke the unrevocable annoye of this Realme, whereof already we have had very daungerous experience.

It is written in the xxxth. article of the discourse before specified dedicated to the twoo younge Erles of Emden as followeth *verbatim*: With this greate treasure did not the Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles gett from the frenche kinge the kingdome of Naples, the Dukedome of Myllaine, and all other his domynions in Italy, Lombardy, Pyemont, and Savoye? with this treasure did he not take the Pope prisoner: and sacked the sea<sup>1</sup> of Rome? With this treasure did he not take the frenche kinge prisoner and mayneteyne all the greate warres w<sup>th</sup> Fraunce since the yere of o<sup>r</sup> lorde 1540 to the yere of our lorde 1560 as is declared in the 12. and 13. article of his<sup>2</sup> booke? With this treasure hath he not mayneteyned many Cities in Italie as well againste the Pope as againste the frenche kinge, as Parma, fflorence and such other? With this treasure did he not overthrowe the Duke of Cleave, and take Gilderland, Groyninge lande and other Domynions from him? w<sup>ch</sup> oughte to be a goode warninge to you all, as it shall be most plainely and truly declared hereafter? With this treasure did he not gett into his handes the Erldome of Lingen in westfalia? With this treasure did he not cause the Erle of Esones,<sup>3</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> subjecte to rebell againste your graces father and againste you? the cause you knowe best: And what worke this treasure made amongst the Princes and Townes in Germany when the Duke of Saxony and the Launtzgrave van Hessen were taken, Sleydan our owne countryman by his chronicle declareth at large. And did not this treasure, named the Burgundishe asse, walke and ronne in all places to make bothe warr and peace at pleasure? And tooke he nothinge from the Empire then? yes

<sup>1</sup> See.<sup>2</sup> This.<sup>3</sup> Esens.

truly to moche as you shall heare: When the Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles was firste made Empero<sup>r</sup>, what were the Townes and Contries in the netherlandes that justly or properly came to him by birthe and inheritaunce? There was Brabant, fflaunders, holland, zeland, Artoys, and Henego:<sup>1</sup> And yet there is a greate question concerninge Holland howe the Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles and his progenito<sup>rs</sup> came by yt, and what homage and duetie they oughte to doo for the same: Because thereby the house of Burgundy hath the mouthe of the River Rhene at their commaundemente, w<sup>ch</sup> is to the greate losse, damage, and daunger of Germanye as hereafter shalbe declared. Here be all the Contries that belonged to the house of Burgundie when the Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles was made Empero<sup>r</sup>. But howe moche hath bene added to the netherlandes since by him contrary to his oathe made? That are these Townes and Contries as yt appereth in Sleydans Chronicle, viz., Lutzenburge, Lymeburge, Gelderlande, the Erldome of Sutphen, the Citie and straite of Utright<sup>2</sup> w<sup>th</sup> all the landes in over Isel, west frizeland, the Citie of Groninge, and Groininge lande. And as before it is saied he hath by pollicie gotten into his handes the Erldome of Lingen standinge in westfalia: and by the like pollicie w<sup>th</sup> money he is become the defendo<sup>r</sup> of the Erldome of Esons w<sup>ch</sup> is parcell of your graces Countrie of East frize-land. All these Contries and Townes w<sup>th</sup> the treasure of the netherlandes hath he taken from the Empire.

Thus farr procedeth this excellent man in describinge howe Charles the Empero<sup>r</sup> employed his treasure to the afflictinge and oppressinge of moste of the greatest estates of Christendome.<sup>3</sup> The effecte of these treasures w<sup>ch</sup> he had oute of the west Indies, Peter Martir of Angleria in the epistle dedicatory of his Decades to the said Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles truly prognosticated in the begynnynge before hand, where he writeth thus unto him: Come therefore and embrace this newe worlde and suffer us no longer to consume in desire of your presence. ffrom hence, from hence (I say) moste noble younge Prince shall instrumentes be prepared for you whereby all the worlde shalbe under your

<sup>1</sup> Hainault.

<sup>2</sup> Utrecht.

<sup>3</sup> Here Hakluyt leaves the German writer, and turns to Richard Eden's translation of Peter Martyr.

obeysaunce: And in very deede it is moste apparaunte that riches are the fittest instrumentes of conqueste, and that the Empero<sup>r</sup> turned them to that use. To leave the father and to come to the sonne, hath not Kinge Phillippe employed his treasure as injuriously to all Princes and potentates of Europe? Is it not he that w<sup>th</sup> his Indian treasure corrupted the *Quinqueviri* in portingale that in the interregnum were appointed overseers of the comon wealthe and so hath joyned that kingdome to his, w<sup>th</sup> all the Ilandes, Townes, and domynions belonginge to that Crowne?<sup>1</sup> Is it not he that w<sup>th</sup> his treasure hath gon aboute to hier some ungodlye murderer to make away w<sup>th</sup> Don Antonio one while by open proclamacion, and another while *sotto capo*, under hande? Is it not he that by his treasure hathe hired at sondry times the sonnes of Beliall to bereve the Prince of Orange of his life?<sup>2</sup> And hath he not suborned by hope of rewarde other moste ungodly persons to lay violent handes upon other Christian princes? Hath not he these many yeres geven large pensions to numbers of englishe unnaturall rebelles? Doth he not support the Semynaries of Rome and Rhemes to be thornes in the sides of their owne common wealthes? Hath not he divers tymes sente forren forces into Ireland furnished w<sup>th</sup> money, armo<sup>r</sup>, munition, and victualls? Hath not he sente rounde sommes of money into Scotland bothe to the Kinge and those that are aboute him to alter the estate there and to trouble oures? And is it not knowen that this Spanishe asse ronnet up and downe laden throughe all ffraunce, and when it coude not enter into the papistes gates, yt hath soughte to enter into the Courtes of the princes of the Relligion to renewe the late intermitted civile warres? What it hath don and nowe, dothe in all the Empire and the lowe Contries and is like to worke in other places unlesse speddy order be taken to hinder it, is described at large by Mounsieur de Aldegonnde<sup>3</sup> a germaine gentleman in a pithie and moste earnest exhortation (extant in latine, Italian, frenche, englishe, and duche) concerninge the estate of Christendome,

*Kinge  
Phillipps  
injuries offred  
by his  
Treasures.*

<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese Cortes recognised Philip as King in April 1581.

<sup>2</sup> The Prince of Orange was assassinated on July 10, 1584. Hakluyt seems here to refer only to the attempts on his life, which suggests that he had written thus far before the news was known.

<sup>3</sup> Philip van Marnix: *Oratio Ecclesiarum Christi*, 1579.



together w<sup>th</sup> the meanes to defende and preserve the same, dedicated to all christian kinges, princes, and potentates.<sup>1</sup>

### Cap. 7.

What speciall meanes may bringe kinge Phillippe from his highe Throne and make him equall to the Princes his neighbours: wherew<sup>th</sup>all is shewed his weakenes in the west Indies.

Firste it is to be considered that his Domynions and Territories oute of Spaine lye farr distant from Spaine his chefest force, and farr distante one from another, and are kepte by greate tyrannie, and *quos metuunt oderunt*. And the people kepte in subjection desire nothinge more then freedome. And like as a little passage geven to water it maketh his owne way, so give but a small meane to suche kepte in tyranie, they will make their owne way to libertie, w<sup>ch</sup> way may easely be made. And entringe into the consideracion of the way how this Phillippe may be abased, I meane firste to begynne w<sup>th</sup> the west Indies as there to laye a chefe foundation for his overthrowe. And like as the foundation of the strongest holde undermined and removed, the mightiest and strongest walles fall flatt to the earthe, so this prince spoiled or intercepted for a while of his treasure, occasion by lacke of the same is geven that all his Territories in Europe oute of Spaine slide from him, and the Moores enter into Spaine it selfe,<sup>2</sup> and the people revolte in every forrein territorie of his, and cutt the throates of the proude hatefull Spaniardes their governours. ffor this Phillippe already owinge many millions, and of late yeres empaiRED in credite, bothe by lacke of abilitie of longe tyme to pay the same, and by his shamefull losse of his spaniardes and dishono<sup>rs</sup> in the lowe Contries,<sup>3</sup> and by lacke of the yerely Renewe of his Revenewe, he shall not be able to wage<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt was passionately Protestant. The Throgmorton Plot had been discovered in 1583, and the Babington Plot was to follow.

<sup>2</sup> More than one suggestion was made to the Queen that she should ally herself with the Moors against Spain. Hatred of Spain was reaching the point of hysteria.

<sup>3</sup> Actually the Prince of Parma reduced one city after another in 1584, but Antwerp did not fall until August 1585.

<sup>4</sup> Pay.

his severall garrisons kepte in his severall frontiers, territories, and places, nor to corrupte in princes Courtes, nor to doo many feates. And this weyed, wee are to knowe what Phillip ys in the west Indies. And that wee be not abused with spanishe braggs, and made to beleve what he is not, and so drawen into vain feare suffer fondly and childishly our owne utter spoile. And therefore wee are to understande that Phillippe rather governeth in the west Indies by opinion, then by mighte. ffor the small manred<sup>r</sup> of Spaine of itselfe being alwayes at the best slenderly peopled was never able to rule so many Regions, or to kepe in subjection such worldes of people as be there, were it not for the erro<sup>r</sup> of the Indian people, that thincke he is that he is not, and that doo ymagine, that Phillippe hath a thousande Spaniardes for every single naturall subjecte that he hath there. And like as the Romaines allured hither into Britaine perced the Iland and planted here and there in the mouthes of Rivers and upon straites, and kepte Colonies, as at Westchester upon the River of Dee, at Yorke upon the River of Owse, and upon the Rivers of Thames and Severne, and yet in truthe never enjoyed more of the contries rounde aboute, then the Englishe planted at Bulloine and Calice did of the frenche soile adjoyninge, nor in effecte had the Brittishe nation at commaundement: Even so hath the Spaniarde perced the Indies and planted here and there very thinlye and slenderlye w<sup>th</sup>oute havinge the Indian multitude in subjection, or in their Townes and fortes any number to holde any of them againste the meanest force of a Prince: So as in truthe the Spaniarde ys very weake there. And it is knowne to S<sup>r</sup> ffraunces Drake and to M<sup>r</sup> Hawkins, and Miles Phillipps (w<sup>ch</sup> Miles lyved xiiij. yeres in Nova Spania) and to dyvers others of her Mat<sup>ties</sup> subjectes besides that have been there: That the Ilandes there abounde w<sup>th</sup> people and nations that rejecte the proude and bluddy governemente of the Spaniarde, and that doo mortally hate the Spaniarde: And they also knowe that the Moores and suche as the Spaniardes have broughte thither for the mynes and for slavery have fledd from them into the Inlandes, and of them selves maineteine in many places frontier warres againste the Spaniarde, and many tymes so prevaile and

<sup>1</sup> Supply of men available for war.

especially of late, that the Spaniardes have bene inforced to sende the Spanishe marchauntes themselves into the warres, althoughe yt be againste the speciall priviledges graunted by Charles the late Empero<sup>r</sup> to the marchauntes, as may plainely appere by Spanishe marchauntes letters taken by S<sup>r</sup> ffraunces Drake passinge in the sea of Sur towarde Panama to be conveyed into Spaine: And it is thoughte that S<sup>r</sup> ffraunces Drake and some other englishe are of so greate credite w<sup>th</sup> the Symerons and w<sup>th</sup> those that mayneteyne those frontier warres, that he mighte, bringinge thither a fewe Capitaines and some of our meaner souldiers late trayned in the base Contries, w<sup>th</sup> archers and lighte furniture &c. bringe to passe that joyninge w<sup>th</sup> those Inland people, Kinge Phillippe mighte either be deprived of his governmente there, or at the leaste of the takinge of his yerely benefite of the mynes. Thus w<sup>th</sup> small chardge and fewe men nowe and then renewinge this matter by a few sailes to be sent thither for the comforte of suche as shalbe there residente, and for the incouragemente of the Symerons, greater effecte may followe then by meetinge w<sup>th</sup> his golden flete, or by takinge of his treasures once or twice at the sea: ffor by this meanes, or by a platforme well to be sett downe, England may enjoye the benefite of the Indian mynes, or at the leaste kepe Phillippe from possessinge the same.<sup>1</sup>

Hereunto yf wee adde our purposed westerne discoveries, and there plante, and people ryally,<sup>2</sup> and fortifie strongly, and there bulde shippes and maineteine a navy in special porte or portes, wee may by the same either encounter the Indian fleete, or be at hande as it were to yelde freshe supplye, courage, and comforte by men or munition to the Chichimici and the Symerons and suche other as shalbe incited to the spoile of the mynes, w<sup>ch</sup> in tyme will if it be not looked to bringe all Princes to weake estate that Phillippe, either for religion or other cause dothe hate, as the aforesaide Monsieur de Aldegond in his pithie and moste earneste exhortation to all Christian kinges,

<sup>1</sup> When Drake appeared in the Pacific, the Spaniards took drastic steps against the Cimarrones. Hakluyt's plan of affording the latter English arms and leadership had little to commend it.

<sup>2</sup> Royally, *i.e.* on a large scale with state aid.

Princes, and Potentates to beware of kinge Phillipps ambitions growinge, dothe wisely and moste providently forwarne.

To this may be added (the Realme swarming w<sup>th</sup> lustie youtthes that be turned to no profitable use) there may be sente bandes of them into the base Contries in more rounde numbers then are sente as yet. ffor if he presently prevaile there at o<sup>r</sup> doores, farewell the traficque that els wee may have there (whereof wise men can say moche). And if he settle there, then let the Realme saye adewe to her quiet state and safetie.<sup>1</sup> If these enter into the due consideration of wise men, and if platformes of these thinges be sett downe and executed duelye and w<sup>th</sup> spede and effecte, no doubt but the Spanishe Empire ~~fall~~es to the ground, and the Spanishe kinge shall be lefte bare as Aesops proude Crowe, the peacocke, the perot, the pye, and the popingey and every other birde havinge taken home from him his gorgeous fethers, he will in shorte space become a laughinge stocke for all the worlde, w<sup>th</sup> such a mayme to the Pope and to that side, as never hapned to the sea of Rome by the practise of the late kinge of famous memory her Ma<sup>ties</sup> father, or by all the former practises of all the protestant princes of Germanie, or by any other advise layde downe by Monsieur de Aldegond here after by them to be put in execucion. If you touche him in the Indies, you touche the apple of his eye, for take away his treasure w<sup>ch</sup> is *nervus belli*,<sup>2</sup> and w<sup>ch</sup> he hath almoste oute of his west Indies, his olde bandes of souldiers will soone be dissolved, his purposes defeated, his power and strengthe diminished, his pride abated, and his tyranie utterly suppressed.

<sup>1</sup> This was true, and on August 10, 1585, the Queen became Protector of the Low Countries.

<sup>2</sup> Sinews of war. Hakluyt was not economist enough to associate the flood of treasure with the fall in the purchasing price of money.

## Cap. 8.

That the lymites of the Kinge of Spaines domynions in the west Indies be nothings so large as is generally ymaged and surmized, neither those partes w<sup>ch</sup> he holdeth be of any such forces as is falsly geven oute by the popishe Clergie and others his fautors<sup>1</sup> to terrifie the Princes of the Relligion and to abuse and blynde them.

As the Secretary of Don Antonio kinge of Portingale called Custodio Etan<sup>2</sup> tolde me lately at Paris that the portingales never had in Guinea, Bresill, and all the easte Indies above twelve thousande portingale souldiers whensoever they had moste, w<sup>ch</sup> was confirmed by one of the kinges Capitaines borne in Goa then presente, and that they governed rather by gevinge oute of greate rumors of power and by secrecie then by any greate force w<sup>ch</sup> they had in deede: So the like is to be proved of the kinge of Spaine in his west Indies. ffor he beinge in those partes excedinge weake hath nothings such numbers of people there as ys geven oute: neither doo his domynions stretch so far as by the ignoraunte ys ymaged: w<sup>ch</sup> hereby easely may appere, seinge he hath no one Towne or forte in actuall possession in all Nova hispania to the northe of the Tropicke of Cancer, w<sup>ch</sup> standeth in 23. degrees and an halfe, excepte the Towne of St. Helen and one or twoo small fortes in florida:<sup>3</sup> ffor as it is in the mappe of Culiacan sett oute twoo yeres paste w<sup>th</sup> all diligence by Ortelius, Sainte Michael ys the furthest Towne northwarde on the backside of America, and Panuco, and Villa Sancti Jacobi are the moste northerly Colonies upon the Bay of Mexico that the Spaniardes inhabite, as the aforesaide Ortelius witnesseth in his mapp of those partes sett oute this presente yere 1584, w<sup>ch</sup> three Townes above named are under or w<sup>th</sup>in the Tropicke of Cancer.<sup>4</sup> And so the kinge

<sup>1</sup> Partisans.

<sup>2</sup> Leitan. He moved between Paris and London on his master's business. Stafford questioned him carefully on Oct. 8, 1585 about the Portuguese Indies and Strait of Magellan.

<sup>3</sup> St Augustine, in lat. 30°, was the most northerly settlement.

<sup>4</sup> These maps are in the *Additamenta* to the *Theatrum*. The map of Culiacan is dated 1579.

of Spaine hath no footinge beyonde the said Tropicke w<sup>ch</sup> is contrary to the opinion of the vulgar sorte w<sup>ch</sup> ymagine and by some are borne in hande that all is his from the equinoctiall as farr as the lande stretcheth towards the Pooles: Againe that parte from the equinoctiall to the southe ys not inhabited by the Spaniarde any further then unto the Tropicke of Capricorne, as ys to be seene by the mappe of Peru this presente yere 1584 published by Ortelius: neither is it peopled by the Spaniardes to any purpose savinge onely alonge the sea coaste. And howe weake they are there and what simple shippinge they have, and howe dayly they be afflicted by the Inhabitauntes, S<sup>r</sup> ffraunces Drake can tell and the letters by him intercepted doo declare. One Peter Benzo de Millano<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> was fourtene yeres in those partes writeth that they holde greate Townes, some w<sup>th</sup> tenne, some w<sup>th</sup> sixe, some w<sup>th</sup> foure, and some w<sup>th</sup> twoo souldiers, and that they commaunded that all the Italians, whome they called Levantines in contempte, shoulde departe those Contries, fearinge they shoulde reveale their nakednes to the worlde, and encourage others to sett in footinge there: Seeinge then they suffer no people of Europe to inhabite there savinge onely Spaniardes, any reasonable man that knoweth the barenes, desolacion and wante of men in Spaine together w<sup>th</sup> these eightene yeres civill warres that hath wasted so many thousandes of them in the Lowe contries must nedes confesse that they have very simple<sup>2</sup> forces there. The provinces w<sup>ch</sup> he holdeth are indeede many, yet more denuded than ever was any Empire since the creacion of the worlde. Some of his Contries are dispeopled, some barren, some so far asonder also held by Tyranie, that in deede upon the due consideracion of the matter, his mighte and greatenes is not suche as *prima facie* yt may seme to be: And weare yt not that he doth possesse suche a masse of treasure oute of the Indies, the frenche kinge of one onely kingdome w<sup>th</sup> his onely people of ffraunce were able to drive him oute of all his domynions that he hath in the worlde.

It is written that Antigonus beinge to fighte againste certaine

*The example  
of Antigonus.*

<sup>1</sup> Girolamo Benzoni, *Historia del mondo novo*. Hakluyt's slip is probably due to the similar name of Pierre Bellon who is quoted by Ramusio.

<sup>2</sup> Scanty.

of his enemyes, they appered a farr off to be so huge and mightie, that his souldiers were halfe afraied to encounter them, but beinge encouraged by his valo<sup>r</sup>, they easely overthrewed them in a conflict, whereof he stripped one or twoo, w<sup>ch</sup> beinge turned oute of their bombasted and large apparell, were in deede but very weakelinges and shrimpes, w<sup>ch</sup> when he had shewed unto his souldiers, they were ashamed of themselves that ever they had bene afraied of suche wretches. So when wee shall have looked and narrowly pried into the Spanishe forces in America, wee shalbe doubtles ashamed of ourselves that wee have all this while bene afraied of those dissemblinge and feble scarr crows. This w<sup>ch</sup> I say concerninge the weakenes of the Spaniardes in America, may more easelie appere by this note followinge gathered by an excellent frenche capitaine<sup>1</sup> moste experte and privie to the state and force of the Islandes, havens, Townes, and fortes of all that parte of America w<sup>ch</sup> lieth upon our Ocean, w<sup>ch</sup> excedinge large coaste beinge so rarely and simply manned and fortified, wee may well assure ourselves that the Inlande is moche more weake and unmanned.

### Cap. 9.

The names of the riche Townes lienge alonge the sea coaste on the north side from the equinoctiall of the mayne lande of AMERICA under the Kinge of Spaine.

1. Over against the ilande of Margarita there is a Towne called Cumina wherein is great store of perle. There be divers boates belonginge to the Towne w<sup>ch</sup> onely dragge perles: This Towne is the farthest eastwarde w<sup>ch</sup> the kinge hath on the north side of India: It is environed w<sup>th</sup> their enemyes viz. the Indyans and Caribes. The victualls come from this Towne to Margarita.

2. The nexte Towne westwarde is Carakas w<sup>ch</sup> is very riche of golde. This Towne standeth upon the sea and hath some victualls, but not plentie, and is environed likewise w<sup>th</sup> the Indians their mortall enemyes.

<sup>1</sup> A version of this French report is in the Cotton MSS. Otho E VIII.

3. The towne Burborowate was destroyed by 50. Frenchemen and the treasure taken away.

4. The nexte Towne to the westwarde is called Coro which hath greate plentie of golde and victualls, this standeth upon the sea. This is a Civill Contrie, and some of the Indians broughte to a civill governemente.

5. At Rio de Hacha there is a Towne called Hacha, where is greate store of perle and silver but no golde, and not farr from thence there is a perle house: There is plentie of victualls, the Contrie civill, and some of the Indians at the Spaniardes com-aundement. Mr. John Hawkins told me he wan this Towne and was m<sup>r</sup> of yt three daies in his laste voyadge.<sup>1</sup>

6. further westwarde is a Towne called Santa Maren alias Marta where is greate store of golde but little victualls. This is envyroned w<sup>th</sup> Indians enemyes to the Spaniardes.

7. The nexte Towne is Carthagena where is greate store of silver, golde, and precious stone. This Towne hath a number of Indians and Symerons to their enemyes, there is also greate store of victualls.

8. The nexte Towne thereunto is Nombro di Dios. To this towne cometh all the golde, perle, stone, and Jewells that cometh from Chile, Peru, and Panama oute of the southe sea. To this towne cometh halfe the fleete which taketh in halfe<sup>2</sup> their treasure, and goeth to Havana, and so throughe the Gulfe of Bahama unto the Ilandes of Corvo, Flores, and the Azores and from thence into Spaine: This towne hath no victualls but such as cometh from Panama and the ilandes by sea: By this Towne is a gulfe called Guluata, where the Cymerons and Indians have certaine Townes and kepe warres dayly w<sup>th</sup> the Spaniardes as well as the Indians. At the southende of the gulfe there is not paste five legues over lande into the South sea.

9. The nexte towne is called Vraga alias Var, where is moche golde and small store of victualls, this is a civill Contrie nere to the Towne, the nexte is Nicaragua.

10. At Nicaragua is moche golde that cometh out of the

<sup>1</sup> This seems to be an interpolation by Hakluyt, who probably had the note from Hawkins.

<sup>2</sup> 'All' in the Cotton version.



Southe Sea, and there is a place where they make their frigotts: there ys little victualls, the people are civill.

11. In the Bay of Hondoras is a Towne called Hondoras alias Tres Islas, where is golde and hides and greate store of victualls: This Towne standeth upon an hill very strongly, and is but simply manned. This Towne hath within a mile great plentie of Indians, w<sup>ch</sup> are at warr w<sup>th</sup> the Spaniardes.

12. Then there is a towne called Porto de Cavallos where is store of silver, stones, perles, and jewells made and sett with precious stones and perles: To this Towne come yerey two shippes that goo from thence to the Havana, and so into Spaine w<sup>th</sup> all their riches. This Towne is full of victualls. This porte of Cavallos adjoyneth to the gulfe Dowse.<sup>1</sup>

13. All the Bay of Mexico is full of Indian Townes and full of victualls. There is one Towne named Vera Crux to w<sup>ch</sup> Towne cometh all their Treasure from the Citie of Mexico, and from thence to the porte of St. John de Ulloa, from thence to Havana and so into Spayne.

## FLORIDA

In fflorida the Spaniardes have one Towne called Sancta Helena where they have perles, silver, and greate store of victualls: The ffloridians be a gentle sorte of people, and use somtymes to heade their arowes w<sup>th</sup> silver<sup>2</sup>.

There is one principall place called Rio de Jordan alias Rio de Maio where in an iland standeth a forte w<sup>ch</sup> was Ribaults, w<sup>ch</sup> River ronnethe throughe the Lande into the southe sea from whence greate plentie of Treasure is brought thither: There are small pynnesses that use the same river: It is also thoughte that shippes come from Cathaio to the southwest ende of the said River:<sup>3</sup> This is very full of victualls: There was by Peter Melanda<sup>4</sup> a River cutt from the Citie of Mexico to Rio de Maio, so that moche treasure is broughte from thence to this forte w<sup>th</sup> small pynnesses.

*A speciall  
note of a  
passage.*

<sup>1</sup> Golfo Dulce.

<sup>2</sup> "Head all their arowes with silver," in the Cotton version.

<sup>3</sup> This supposed river is shown on Michael Lok's map of 1582, and John Dee's of 1583. The Cotton version has "south ende".

<sup>4</sup> Pedro Melendes. No such cut was made.

All that parte of America eastwarde from Cumana unto the River of St. Augustine in Bresill conteyneth in lengthe alongest to the sea side xxj C miles, In whiche compasse and tracte there is neither Spaniarde, Portingale nor any Christian man but onely the Caribes, Indians, and salvages. In w<sup>ch</sup> places is greate plentie of golde, perle, and precious stones.

On the coaste of Bresill is one goodly Ile called Trinidada conteyninge C xxi<sup>th</sup> miles in lengthe, and lxxv. miles in bredthe, and is onely inhabited by gentle Indians and Savages borne in the said Ilande. In this ilande is greate plentie of maiz, venison, fishe, wooddes, and grasse, w<sup>th</sup> divers faire frutes and other commodities: Yt hath also divers goodly havens to harborowe yn, and greate stoare of tymber for buildinge of shippes. With the kinge *The Frenche.* of this Ilande wee are in league.

#### Cap. 10.

A brefe declaration of the chefe Ilandes in the Baye of Mexico beinge under the Kinge of Spaine w<sup>th</sup> their havens and fortes and what commodities they yelde.

There ys one Ilande as the fleete cometh into the Baye named Margarita<sup>1</sup> wherein is greate store of perle: a riche Ilande full of Maiz (w<sup>ch</sup> is their corne), oxen, shepe, goates, fowle and fishe, greate store of frutes, grasse and woodds.

Over againste the said Iland northwarde, there is one other Iland named St. John de porto ricco w<sup>ch</sup> hath store of all manner of victualls and suger.

The nexte is a faire Iland called Hispaniola, in some parte well inhabited havinge one Citie called Sancto Domingo, w<sup>ch</sup> hath a faire haven whereunto many of the shippes of the kinges fleete come and there devide themselves, some goo to St. John de Leu, and some to Nombro di Dios and other portes of the mayne lande: This is a frutefull Iland for all manner of victuall hides and suger.

The nexte Ilande is called Jamaica and hath in it great store of victualls.

<sup>1</sup> In the Caribbean Sea, which the fleet entered first from the Atlantic.

The nexte is a faire greate and longe Iland called Cuba: this Iland hath a forte and haven in it called the Havana, w<sup>ch</sup> is the key of all India: It is called the key of India for that the Spaniardes cannot well returne into Spaine,<sup>1</sup> but that they muste touche there for victualls, water, woodde, and other necessaries. It lieth at the mouthe and entraunce into the gulfes of Bahama.<sup>2</sup> This Ilande hath great plentie of victualls, but it is not greatly inhabited.

There be divers other Ilandes riche for victualls, as Aeriuba, Corsal, Marigalante, &c., havinge not in them some xx. some x. Spaniardes a pece.<sup>3</sup>

Thus you see that in all those infinite Ilandes in the gulfes of Mexico whereof Cuba and Hispaniola are thoughte to be very nere as bigge as England and Ireland, wee reade not of past twoo or three places well fortified, as St Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola and Havana in Cuba: I may therefore conclude this matter w<sup>th</sup> comparinge the Spaniardes unto a dromme or an emptie vessell, w<sup>ch</sup> when it is smitten upon yeldeth a greate and terrible sound and that afarr of, but come nere and looke into them, there ys nothinge in them, or rather like unto the asse w<sup>ch</sup> wrapte himselfe in a lyons skynne and marched farr of to strike terro<sup>r</sup> into the hartes of the other beastes, but when the foxe drewe nere he perceaved his longe eares and made him a jeste unto all the beastes of the Forrest. In like manner wee (upon perill of my life) shall make the Spaniarde ridiculous to all Europe, if w<sup>th</sup> percinge eyes wee see into his contemptible weakenes in the west Indies, and with true stile painte hym oute *ad vivum* unto the worlde in his fainte color<sup>s</sup>.<sup>4</sup> And if any man woulde objecte that if by his weakenes he had loste the Treasure of the west Indies, yet the riches of the easte Indies woulde holde upp his heade: I answer that those Contries beinge so farr of, and suche naturall malice beinge betweene the portingale and the Spaniarde as greater cannot be, that it is not possible for him to holde those partes no more than the other, wantinge the

<sup>1</sup> "Come ne goe home" in the Cotton MS.

<sup>2</sup> Strait of Florida. The circular route followed by the fleet was necessitated by the winds and currents.

<sup>3</sup> Here the French captain's notes end.

<sup>4</sup> Drake proved this in his West Indian raid of the following year.

treasure of the west Indies to supporte his garrisons both there and in Christendome againste his manifolde and mightie enemyes.

Cap. II.

That the Spaniardes have exercised moste outrageous and more then Turkishe cruelties in all the west Indies, whereby they are every where there become moste odious unto them, whoo woulde joyne w<sup>th</sup> us or any other moste willinglye to shake of their moste intollerable yoke, and have begonne to doe yt already in divers places where they were lordes heretofore.

So many and so monstrous have bene the Spanishe cruelties, suche straunge slaughters and murders of those peaceable, lowly, milde, and gentle people together with the spoiles of Townes, provinces, and kingdomes w<sup>ch</sup> have bene moste ungodly perpetrated in the west Indies, as also divers others no lesse terrible matters, that to describe the leaste parte of them woulde require more than one chapiter especially where there are whole bookes extant in printe not onely of straungers but also even of their owne contrymen (as of Bartholmewe de las Casas a Bisshoppe in Nova Spania),<sup>1</sup> yea such and so passinge straunge and excedinge all humanitie and moderation have they bene that the very rehersall of them drave divers of the cruell Spanishe w<sup>ch</sup> had not bene in the west Indies, into a kinde of extasye and maze, so that the sayenge of the poet mighte therein well be verified.

Quis talia fando;

Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Uliesses,  
Temperet a lachrimis?

Nevertheles I will repeate oute of that mightie masse and huge heape of massacres some fewe, that of them you may make an estymate of the rest, and consider what cause the small remainder of those moste afflicted Indians have to revolte from the obedience of the Spaniardes and to shake of from their

<sup>1</sup> An English version of his famous work *Relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, was published in 1583.

shoulders the moste intollerable and insupportable yoke of Spaine, w<sup>ch</sup> in many places they have already begonne to doo of themselves w<sup>th</sup>oute the helpe of any christian Prynce.

[This being so I leave it to the depe consideration of the wise, what greate matters may be broughte aboute by our nation if her Mat<sup>tie</sup> (beinge a mightie prince at sea) woulde put in a foote in that enterprise, and assiste the revolted Indians, Symérons and Chichimici after one or twoo yeres planting there, and growinge into acquaintance and familiaritie w<sup>th</sup> those oppressed nations.]<sup>f</sup>

Nowe because these moste outeragious and infinite massacres are put downe by Don Bartholmewe de las Casas the Bisshophe above mentioned and dedicated to Kinge Phillippe that nowe ys, w<sup>ch</sup> author testifieth that to his inspeakable grefe he was an eye witsnesse of many of them, therefore it semeth best unto me to bringe him in, w<sup>ch</sup> in his firste chapter describeth the same in manner followinge. Upon these lambes (meaninge the Indians) so meke, so qualified and endowed of their maker and creato<sup>r</sup> as hath bene saied, entred the spanishe, incontinent as they knew them, as wolves, as lyons, and as Tigres moste cruell of longe tyme famished: and have not don in those quarters these 40. yeres be paste, neither yet doo at this presente oughte els, then teare them in peces, kill them, martir them, afflicte them, tormente them and destroye them by straunge sortes of cruelties, never either seene or reade or hearde of the like, (of the which some shalbe sett downe hereafter) so farr forthe as of above three millions of soules that were in the Ile of Hispaniola, and that wee have seene there, there are not nowe twoo hundreth natives of the Contrie. The Ile of Cuba w<sup>ch</sup> is as farr in lengthe as from Valladolid untill Rome, ys at this day as it were all waste. St. John's Isle, and that of Jammaica bothe of them very greate, very fertile, and very faire are desolate. Likewise the Iles of Lucayos nere to the Ile of Hispaniola, and of the northside unto that of Cuba, in nomber beinge above three score Ilandes, together with those w<sup>ch</sup> they call the Isles of Geant, one w<sup>th</sup> another greate and little whereof the very worste is

<sup>f</sup> Hakluyt struck out this paragraph. It was a proposal hardly consonant with a professed Christian and clergyman and might easily give offence to the Queen.

fertiler then the kinges garden at Civill, and the Contrie the helthsomest in the worlde: There were in some of these Isles more then five hundred thousande soules, and at this day there is not one only creature, for they have bene all of them slaine after that they had drawen them oute to labor in their myneralls in the Ile of Hispaniola, where there were no more lefte of the Inborne natives of that Iland: A shippe ridinge for the space of three yeres betwixte all these Ilandes to thende that after the wyninge of this kinde of vintage to gleane and cull the Remainder of these folke (for there was a goodd Christian moved w<sup>th</sup> pitie and compassion to converte and wyne unto Christe suche as mighte be founde) there were not founde but eleven persons w<sup>ch</sup> I sawe.<sup>1</sup> Other Iles more than thirtie nere to the Ile of St. John, have likewise bene despeopled and massacred. All those Iles conteyne above twoo thousande leagues of lande and are all dispeopled and laid waste.

As touchinge the mayne firme lande wee are certaine that o<sup>r</sup> Spaniardes by their cruelties and cursed doinges have dispeopled and made desolate more then tenne Realmes greater then all Spaine comprisinge therein also Arragon and Portingale, and twice as moche or more lande than there is from Civill to Jerusalem, w<sup>ch</sup> are above a thousand leagues: w<sup>ch</sup> Realmes as yet unto this presente day remain in a wildernes and utter desolation, havinge bene before time as well peopled as was possible.

Wee are able to yelde a goodd and perfecte accompte that there is w<sup>th</sup>in the space of 40. yeres by these said tyranies and devillishe doinges of the Spaniardes don to deathe unjustly and tyraneously more then xij millions of soules men women and children.

And I verely doe beleve and thinke I doo not mistake therein there are deade more then fiftene millions of soules: Thus havinge hearde of the multitudes of soules slayne, you shall heare the manner of their slaughter. In the chapiter of Hispaniola it thus followeth:

Nowe after sondry other forces violences and tormentes w<sup>ch</sup> they wroughte againste them, the Indians perceaved that those were no men descended from heaven. Some of them there-

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the Bishop saw.

fore hidd their victualls, others hidd their wives and their children, some other fledd into the mountaines to separete themselves afarr of from a nation of so harde natured and ghastly conversation: The Spaniardes buffeted them w<sup>th</sup> their fistes and bastianadoes, preasinge<sup>1</sup> also to lay their handes on the Lordes of the Townes: And these cases ended in so greate an hazarde and desperatnes, that a Spanishe capitaine durste adventure to ravishe forcibly the wife of the greatest kinge and Lorde of this Ile: Since w<sup>ch</sup> time the Indians began to searche meanes to caste the Spaniardes oute of their landes and sett themselves in armes: But what kinde of armes? Very weake and feble to withstande or resiste, and of lesse defence: Wherefore all their warres are no more warres then the playenge of children when as they playe at *jogo de cane* or reedes. The Spaniardes w<sup>th</sup> their horses, speares, and launces began to comitt murders and straunge cruelties: They entred into Townes, Burroughes, and villages sparinge neither children, nor olde men, noyther women w<sup>th</sup> childe, neither them that laye in, but they ripped their bellies and cutt them in peces as if they had bene openinge of lambes shutt upp in their folde: They laied wagers w<sup>th</sup> suche as w<sup>th</sup> one thruste of a sworde woulde paunche or bowell a man in the middest, or w<sup>th</sup> one blowe of a sworde most readily and most deliverly<sup>2</sup> cut of his heade, or y<sup>t</sup> woulde best perce his entralls at one stroke. They tooke the little soules by the heeles rampinge them from their mothers brestes and crussed their heades against the cliftes. Others they caste into the Rivers, laughinge and mockinge, and when they tombled into the water, they saied, nowe shifte for thy selfe suche a ones corps: They put others together w<sup>th</sup> their mothers and all that they mett to the edge of the sworde. They made certaine gibbetts longe and toughe in such sorte that the feete of the hanged on touched in a manner the grounde, every one enoughe for thirtene, in the honour and worshippe of our saviour and his xij Apostles (as they used to speake), and setting to fire, burned them all quicke<sup>3</sup> that were fastened. Unto all others whome they used to take and reserve alive cuttinge of their twoo handes as nere as mighte be, and so lettinge them hange, they saied, Go you w<sup>th</sup> these letters

<sup>1</sup> Striving.<sup>2</sup> Deftly.<sup>3</sup> Alive.

to cary tydinges to those w<sup>ch</sup> are fled by the mountaines: They mured commonly the Lordes and nobilitie on this fasshion, they made certen grates of perches<sup>1</sup> laid on pitchforkes, and made a little fire underneathe to the intente that by little and little yelling and despairinge in these tormentes they mighte give up the ghoste.

One time I sawe foure or five of the principall Lordes roasted and broyled upon these gredyrans: also I thincke that there were twoo or three of the said gredyrans garnished w<sup>th</sup> the like furniture. And for that they cried oute piteously, whiche thinge troubled the Capitaine that he coulde not then slepe, he com-aunded to strangle them: The serjeant w<sup>ch</sup> was worse then the hangman that burned them, (I knowe his name and frendes in Civill) woulde not have them strangled, but hymselfe puttinge bulletts in their mowthes to the ende they shoulde not crye, put to the fire until they were softly roasted after his desire. I have seene all the aforesaide thinges and others infinite: And forasmoche as all the people that coulde flee, hidd themselves in the mountaines and mounted on the toppes of them, fledd from the men so w<sup>th</sup>oute all manhodde, emptie of all pietie, behavinge themselves as savage beastes, the slaughterers and murderers of mankinde, they taughte their houndes, fierce doggs, to tear them in peces at the first viewe, and in the space that one might say a *Credo* assailed and devoured an Indian as if it had bene a swine: These doggs wroughte greate destructions and slaughters. And forasmoche as somtymes (thoughe seldome) the Indian put to deathe some Spaniardes upon goodd righte and lawe of due Justice, they made a lawe betwene them, that for one Spaniarde they had to slaye an hundred Indians.

*Bishop  
Bartholomew  
de las Casas  
an eye  
wytnes of  
these  
cruelties.*

And thus farr oute of the large volume of Don Bartholomew de las Casas Byshoppe of the citie of Chiape in the west Indies, where he lyved many yeres.<sup>2</sup>

Will you nowe heare one Testymonie of Johannes Metellus Sequanus, whoo was a papiste and favoured the spanishe superstition, yet he writes as followeth in the preface of the

*Johannes  
Metellus  
Sequanus.*

<sup>1</sup> Wooden gridirons.

<sup>2</sup> This quotation is from the English translation, *The Spanish Colonie*, London, 1583.



Historie of Osorius *de rebus gestis Emanuelis*,<sup>1</sup> fol. 16: At vero ut semel intelligatur quid Indos toties ad res novas contra hispanos moliendas, et seditiones tanta pertinacia favendas impulerit, et quid causæ fuerit cur duo illa christianæ reipublicæ summa capita Indicæ nationis libertatem, frementibus quibusdam et invitis dubio procul militibus hispanis, sanctissimo suo calculo comprobarint, paucis novorum dominorum in miseras immanitatem, deinde quorundam inexplebilem avaritiam, et ex hijs graviores quosque tumultus, vnde novi orbis pene totius nunquam satis deploranda vastitas est sequuta, perstringam. Principio quidem illud apud plerosque milites hispanos, pessimo sane exemplo, in more positum fuit, uti ab oculatis et fide dignis testibus perscriptum est, ut servos suos gravissime punirent, si mercedem diurnam aut non attulissent, aut pensum in auro argentove effodiendo non absoluissent, aut si quid levioris denique delicti perpetrassent. Etenim vesperi reduces, cœnæ loco, primùm vestimentis exuebant, manibus dein pedibusque in transverso palo revinciebant: mox chorda bubalove nervo dirissime verberabant. Sic tractatos, pice oleove ferventi guttatim perfundebant; salita post aqua corpus obbluebant, et in mensa tamdiu relinquebant, quamdiu dolorem ferre posse putarentur. Qui mos animadvertendi ipsis etiam in Christianos servos domi familiaris esse dicitur: post carnificium hujusmodi, si durior dominus illis contigerat, vivos in totam noctem collo tenus defodiebant, presentissimum illud ad plagas remedium esse ludibrio dictitantes. Si quis ex illis præ dolore moreretur, id quod non raro accidit, dominus singula servorum capita regi in occisorum locum sufficiens, ab homicidij pœna liberabatur. Hanc crudelitatem lege Baiona, quam dicunt, quidem excusant. Sed omnibus impia merito videtur, tanquam omnis pietatis experts: Quamobrem diabolicæ nomen inter Indos jure quidem obtinuit: Ad hanc autem immanitatem in miseros Indos excercendam nonnullos ingenita quædam naturæ sævities, multis iam bellis exasperata, plerosque habendi sitis impulit. Hinc hispanus miles quasi ad aucupium aut venationem, sic ad prædas hominum agendas, jam inde ab invento novo orbe ferri cœpit. Aut igitur bello captos in servitutem abripiebat, aut ex eorum

<sup>1</sup> Published 1571.

mancipio, magnam sibi pecuniæ vim conflagat, aut eos ad diurnas operas mittebat, quarum mercedem ab ijs quotidie perquam importunus exigebat: fuere qui servos fodinis manciparent, in quibus insolito labore fractæ multæ servorum myriades periere. Alij mercibus illos permutare soliti sunt alione modo distrahere: Idque tam inclementer et amare nonnulli fecerunt, ut christianæ omnis humanitatis prorsus obliti, e continente abreptos utriusque sexus homines, nulla nec ætatis nec valetudinis habita ratione, navibus in vicinas Insulas transportarent. Eorum non pauci qui mari non assueverant, et in sentinam abdebantur, et fame, fœtore, et squallore crudeliter absorpti sunt. Quid? Quod fæminæ complures ex hispanis gravidæ, una cum innoxio fœtu pro ancillis sunt venditæ? Atque hijs quidem modis, militum aliqui ad summas opes pervenerunt: Alij magnas dignitates domi forisque sunt consequuti: Alij rem pecuniariam plurimorum damnis sic auxerunt, ut inventi sint, qui octo pecudum millia possiderent. Hanc tam insignem novorum hominum injustitiam atque tyrannidem fieri non potuit, quin magni statim motus et bella, tam ab ipsis inter se, quam ab incolis in illos excitata sequerentur. After a long beade roll of moste monstrous cruelties of the spanishe nation in every place of the west Indies moste heynously committed, he concludeth yt thus: Tanta ergo fuit Hispani militis in India tyrannis, ut ea non solum Indos, verum etiam servorum maurorum animos ad rebellionem impulerit. Dicuntur enim in exigua quadam Insula ad septem millia defecisse: Quos hispani initio securos et incautos facillime trucidassent, nisi suo malo vigilantiores factos precibus et pacifica legatione expugnare potius, quam armis frustra tentassent: Multi denique fugitivi Mauri in nominis dei provinciæ silvis habitant: qui initia cum incolis amicitia, ferro, flammaque hispanos ubicunque persequuntur, et inventos frustratim dilacerant.

This, therefore, I gather of the premisses that those Contries whereof the Spaniarde ys Lorde, are partely ruined, dispeopled, and laid waste by their incredible and more then barbarous and savage endeles cruelties, and partely grevously infested by the Indians, Symerons, Moores, Chichimici revolted, and consequently he is easie to be driven thence; and turned out of all

w<sup>th</sup> moche lesser force then is commonly ymaged: for, *Nullum violentum est diuturnum, et malus diuturnitatis custos est metus.*

*The Spanishe  
monarchy is  
like unto the  
monarchy of  
Alexander  
the greate.*

And surely the more I thinke of the spanishe monarchie, the more me thinketh it is like the Empire of Alexander the greate, w<sup>ch</sup> grewe upp sooddenly and sooddenly vpon his deathe was rente and dissolved for faulte of lawfull yssue. In like manner the kinge of Spaine nowe 59. yeres of age as beinge borne in the yere of our Lorde 1526 in the moneth of May, and beinge subjecte to the fallinge sicknes, in common reason can be of no longe life, and leauinge no fitt yssue to wealde so greate a gouernemente, and a question risinge whether his younge weake sonne by his sister's daughter be lawfull heire, they are like vpon his deathe to fall together by the eares amongst themselves,<sup>1</sup> and then as men moste odious not onely to the people of the west Indies, but also to all Christendome and all the worlde beside, ys it not likely that every province will seke their libertie? And to say the truthe what nation I pray you of all Christendome loveth the Spaniarde the scourge of the worlde, but from the teethe forward and for aduantage? The Italians w<sup>ch</sup> sometime were Lordes of the earthe in greate parte nowe broughte under his vile yoke, doo many wayes shewe the utter mislike of their satanicall arrogancie and insolencies, and in all their playes and commodies bringe in the spanishe souldier as a ravisher of virgins and wives, and as the boastinge Thraso and *miles gloriosus*:<sup>2</sup> notinge to the worlde their insupportable luxuriousnes, excessive pride and shamefull vaine glorie. The Citie of Rome beinge sackt by Charles the Empero<sup>r</sup>, the Pope and Cardinalls taken and ymprisoned cannot brooke their doinges in their hartes. The venecians stande daily in feare of them almoste as moche as of the Turke, and doubteth that if they be not w<sup>th</sup> spede restrained they will inclose them and use them at their pleasure beinge on bothe sides become almoste lordes of the mouthe of the Straites of Giberaulter: The frenche remembre the takinge of their kinge prisoner, their crueltie in fflorida, the late overthrowe of Strozzi and their fleete,<sup>3</sup> their

<sup>1</sup> Philip died in 1598, and was succeeded by Philip III.

<sup>2</sup> The *capitano spauente* or military braggart was a stock character of the *commedia dell' arte*.

<sup>3</sup> In 1582.

takinge of Tercera, and other disgraces, hate them for the moste parte worse then Scorpions: The Princes of Germanie, the Duke of Saxonie, the Lantsgrave of Hassia,<sup>1</sup> the Duke of Cleve, the Duke Cassimere have susteyned wronges sufficient to make them his mortall enemies: His innumerable outrages in the netherlandes have inforced the flemynges to those termes w<sup>ch</sup> nowe they stande at: Their manifolde practises to supplant us of England give us moste occasion to bethinke ourselves howe wee may abate and pull downe their highe myndes: The poore oppressed Prince and people of Portingale doo watche nighte and day when to finde a convenient occasion of defection. In fine there is almoste no nation of Europe that may not say againste the Spaniarde w<sup>th</sup> the poet: *Distuleratque graves in idonea tempora pœnas*: And so *eum multos metuere necesse est, quem multi metuunt*: And *multorum odijs nulla respublica stare diu potest*.

### Cap. 12.

That the passage in this voyadge is easie and shorte, that it cutteth not nere the trade of any other mightie princes, or nere their Contries, that it is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and nedeth but one kinde of winde: that Ireland beinge full of goodd havens on the southe and weste side, is the nerest parte of Europe to yt, w<sup>ch</sup> by this trade shalbe in more securitie, and the sooner drawen to more Civilitie.

In this voyadge wee may see by the globe that wee are not to passe the burnte zone nor to passe through the frozen seas, but in a temperate climate unto a Contrie muche like to those partes of Gascoigne and Guyen, where heretofore our nation for a longe tyme have inhabited. And it requireth not as longe voyadges doe the takinge in of freshe water by the way in divers places, by reason it may be sailed in five or sixe weekes,<sup>2</sup> whereby the marchant nede to expecte<sup>3</sup> twoo or three yeres for one returne,

<sup>1</sup> Hesse; the list is of the Protestant Princes.

<sup>2</sup> These facts were strongly and repeatedly stressed by the advocates of colonisation.

<sup>3</sup> 'Wait.' The adverbial clause refers to 'long voyages'.

as in the voyadge of Sr ffraunces Drake, of ffenton and William Hawkins,<sup>1</sup> but may receave twoo returnes every yere in the selfe same shippes I saye, and well repose themselves at their arryvalls, w<sup>ch</sup> thinge I my selfe have seene and understoode in ffraunce this presente yere don by the frenchemen: whoo, settinge furthe in January broughte their bankefishe w<sup>ch</sup> they tooke on the bancke forty or three-score leagues from Newe-foundelande to Roan in greate quantitie by the ende of May, and afterwarde returned this yere againe to the fisshinge and are looked for at home towards the fine of November. To the spedye perfourmaunce of w<sup>ch</sup> voyadge this is a speciall furtheraunce, that whereas moste of our other voyadges of like lengthe require twoo or three sortes of windes at the leaste, one onely winde<sup>2</sup> suffiseth to make this: w<sup>ch</sup> was no doubt the cause of the quicke returne of my frende Stephen Bellinger of Roan, whoo departed from Newhaven in January was twelve moneths,<sup>3</sup> arryved at Cape Briton in xx<sup>ti</sup> daies space, and from thence discovered very diligently CC leagues towards Norumbega, and had traficque with the people in tenne or twelve places, founde a towne conteyninge fourescore houses, and returned home w<sup>th</sup> a diligent description of the coaste in the space of foure monethes, w<sup>th</sup> many commodities of the contrie w<sup>ch</sup> he shewed me. Moreover this passage is neither by the straites of Giberaulter, nor on the coastes of Spaine, Portingall, ffraunce, nor fflaunders, neither by the sounde of Denmarke nor Wardhouse in Norway, so as in takinge our course on the highe seas wee shall not be in daunger of the Cursaries in the levant, nor of the Gallies of Barbarie, nor of the Turke, nor of any state of Italie, neither of the Spaniarde, the frenche, nor the dane, nor of any other Prince nor Potentate within the sounde in the northe or in the northeaste partes of the worlde: Wee may also travell thither and perfourme the same at all tymes of the yere w<sup>th</sup> the like facilitie

<sup>1</sup> All these were for China or the Moluccas, and none was actually carried through. Drake's did not sail (the circumnavigation is not here referred to), Fenton's and 'old' William Hawkins' (1582 and 1583 respectively) miscarried.

<sup>2</sup> An easterly outward bound, and a westerly returning. Much delay was caused when a cape had to be 'doubled'.

<sup>3</sup> January 1583. Bellinger must have examined the whole length of Nova Scotia. This is the sole record of his voyage.

as our marchantes of Bristowe, Weymouthe, and other partes of the west Contries travell for woade to the iles of St. Mighell and Tercera (w<sup>ch</sup> are halfe the way thither) all the yere longe. ffor this coaste<sup>1</sup> ys never subjecte to the Ise, w<sup>ch</sup> is never lightly seene to the southe of Cape Razo in Newfounde lande. Besides this in our way as wee passe to and froe wee shall have in tempestes and other necessities the portes of Ireland to our aide and no nerer coaste of any enemye. Moreover by the ordinary entercourse wee may annoy the enemyes to Ireland and succour the Queenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> faithfull subjects, and drawe the Irishe by little and little to more civilitie, and in shorte tyme wee may yelde them from the coastes of America whatsoever commodities they nowe receave at the handes of the Spaniardes.<sup>2</sup> So the Spaniardes shall wante the ordinarye victualls they receave every yere from thence, whereby they cannot contynue traficque, nor fall so aptly to practize againste our governmente there, as heretofore by their trade thither they have don and doo daily, to the greate expences of her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, and no small indaungeringe and troublinge of our state. And to conclude in tradinge to these Contries wee shall not nede for feare of the Spanishe bloudy Inquisition to throwe our Bibles and prayer bookes over boorde into the sea before our arryvall at their portes, as these many yeres wee have don and yet doe, nor take suche horrible oathes as are exacted of our men by the spanishe searchers to suche dayly wilfull and highe offence of almightie god, as wee are driven to contynually in followinge our ordinary trafficque into the Kinge of Spaines dominyons whereof at large wee have spoken before in the seconde Chapter.

<sup>1</sup> Of Norumbega (roughly New England) and Virginia.

<sup>2</sup> There was a trade of very old standing between the west of Ireland and the Iberian peninsula, and a Spanish fishing fleet made use of Irish ports. The idea of substituting economic links with England for those with Spain was a sound one.

## Cap. 13.

That hereby the Revenewes and Customes of her Mat<sup>tie</sup> bothe outwarde and inwarde shall mightily be enlarged by the Toll excises, and other dueties w<sup>ch</sup> withoute oppression may be raysed.

The manifolde Testimonies verbatim alleaged by me in the thirde chapiter of John Ribault, John Verarsanus, Stephen Gomes, Vasques de Coronado, Jaques Cartier, Gasper Corterialis and others w<sup>ch</sup> all were the discoverers of the coaste and Inlande of America betwene 30. and 63. degrees prove infallibly unto us, that Golde, silver, copper, perles, pretious stones, and Turqueses, and Emraldes, and many other commodities have bene by them founde in those Regions. To w<sup>ch</sup> testimonies I coulde have added many moe yf I had not feared to be tedious: Nowe the fyfte parte of all these aforementioned commodities cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter beinge yerely reserved unto her Mat<sup>tie</sup> accordinge to the tenor of the Patent graunted by King Henry the Seaventh in the xj<sup>th</sup>. yere of his raigne to John Gabott and his three sonnes Lewes, Sebastian, and Sancius. The wordes whereof it shoulde not be amisse here to sett downe as they are printed in my booke of voyadges:<sup>1</sup> these are the wordes: Ex omnibus fructibus, proficuis, emolumentis, commodis, lucris, et obventionibus ex hujusmodi navigatione provenientibus, prefatus Johannes et filij ac heredes et eorum deputati teneantur et sint obligati nobis pro omni viagio suo, toties quoties ad portum nostrum Bristollia<sup>e</sup> applicuerint (ad quem omnino applicare teneantur et sint astricti) deductis omnibus sumptibus et impensis necessarijs per eosdem factis, quintam partem capitalis lucri sive in mercibus sive in pecuniis persolvere.

What gaines this imposition may turne unto the Crowne of England in shorte tyme wee may more then gesse havinge but an eye to the Kinge of Spaines revenewes, w<sup>ch</sup> he nowe hath oute of all his domynions in all the west Indies. The like in all respectes may be saied of the revenewes of the Crowne of

<sup>1</sup> *Divers Voyages*, 1582.

Portingale w<sup>ch</sup> beinge of itselfe one of the smallest and poorest kingdomes of all Christendome became in shorte space so riche and honourable soone after their entringe into their southesterne discoveries, traficques, and conquestes, that before the deathe of their late younge kinge Sebastian, their Embassadors would strive and chalenge for the chefest place w<sup>th</sup> the Embassadors of the greatest kinges of Christendome, as I have hearde it dyvers tymes spoken at Paris at my Lordes table<sup>1</sup> by men of greate hono<sup>r</sup> and experience, in w<sup>ch</sup> Citie moste princes and states of Christendome have their Embassadors commonly resident. To leave them and to come to our nation I say that amonge other meanes to encrease her Mat<sup>ties</sup> customes this shalbe one, especially that by plantinge and fortifieinge nere Cape Briton, what by the strengthe of our shippes beinge harde at hande and bearinge the sway already amongst all nations that fishe at Newfoundelande,<sup>2</sup> and what by the fortes that there may be erected and helde by our people, wee shall be able to inforce them havinge no place els to repaire unto so convenient, to pay us suche a contynual custome as shall please us to lay upon them:<sup>3</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> Imposition of twoo or three hundred shippes laden yerely w<sup>th</sup> sondry sortes of fish, trane oyle, and many kyndes of furies and hides,<sup>4</sup> cannot choose but amounte to a greate matter beinge all to be levied upon straungers. And this not onely wee may exacte of the Spaniardes and Portingales but also of the frenche men our olde and auncient enemyes: What shoulde I speake of the customes of the greate multitudes of course clothes, welshe frise,<sup>5</sup> and Irishe ruggs<sup>6</sup> that may be uttered in the more northerly partes of the Lande amonge the Esquimawes of the graunde Bay and amonge them of Canada, Saguinay, and Hochelaga w<sup>ch</sup> are subjecte to sharpe and nippinge winters, albeit their Sommers be hotter moche then oures. Againe the multitudes of small yron and copper workes wherew<sup>th</sup> they are

<sup>1</sup> At the English Embassy.

<sup>2</sup> According to Parkhurst, and to those who were with Gilbert.

<sup>3</sup> Actually the shipping route to the Banks and Grand Bay was not controlled by Cape Breton.

<sup>4</sup> All the evidence points to a fur trade already as well established as the fisheries.

<sup>5</sup> Frieze.

<sup>6</sup> Coarse piece-goods imported at Chester and Liverpool.



excedingly delighted, will not a little encrease the customes being transported oute of the lande: I omitt the rehersall of a Thowsande other triflinge wares, w<sup>ch</sup> besides they may sett many women, children, and ympotent persons on worke in makinge of them woulde also helpe to the encreasinge of the customes: Lastly whatsoever kind of commodyties shoulde be broughte from thence by her Mat<sup>ties</sup> subjectes into the Realme, or be thither transported oute of the Realme, cannot choose but inlarge the Revenewes of the Crowne very mightely and inriche all sortes of subjectes ingenerally.

Cap. 14.

That this action will be for the greate increase, mayneteynaunce and safetie of our navie, and especially of greate shippinge w<sup>ch</sup> is the strengthe of our Realme, and for the sup-  
portation of all those occupations that depende upon the same.

In the Statutes moste providently ordeyned for increase and maineteynaunce of o<sup>r</sup> navigation in the Raignes of Kinge Richarde the Seconde, Kinge Henry the seaventh, Kinge Henry the viij<sup>th</sup>, and her Mat<sup>ie</sup> that nowe ys<sup>1</sup> thoughe many and sondry rewardes were proposed to encourage our people unto the sea, yet still I fynde complaintes of decaye of the navye, not-  
w<sup>th</sup>standinge so many goodly priviledges to mayneteine fisshermen the ordeyninge of Wendisday to be a newe fishe day<sup>2</sup> for the better utteraunce of their fishe that they shoulde take at sea. Yea albeit there hath bene graunted a certene proportionable allowaunce oute of Thexchequer to suche as woulde builde any shippes of burden to serve the prince in tyme of warr,<sup>3</sup> yet very little hath bene done in that behalfe: ffor setting the Citie of London aparte, goe your waye into the west parte of England and Wales, and search howe many shippes of CC tonnes and upwardes those partes can affoorde, and you shall finde (god wotteth) no such number as at firste you did ymagine: At this

<sup>1</sup> Acts of 1562 and 1570.

<sup>2</sup> Since 1563.

<sup>3</sup> H.C.A. 25 (1). Stephen and William Borough received a subsidy for building the *Judith* of London in 1573. Her burden was 110 tons.

day I am assured<sup>1</sup> there are scarce twoo of CC Tonnes belonginge to the whole Citie of Bristowe, and very fewe or none of the like burden alonge the Channell of Severne from Glocester to the Landes ende on the one side, and Milfordehaven on the other: Nowe to remedie this greate and unknowne<sup>2</sup> wante no enterprise possibly can be devised more fitt to increase our great shippinge then this Westernne fortifienge and planting. ffor in this action wee are not to cutt over the narrowe seas in a day or a nighte betwene fflaunders, ffraunce, or Ireland in small barkes of xx<sup>ti</sup>. or xxx<sup>ti</sup>. Tonnes, but wee are to passe over the breste of the maine Ocean and to lye at sea a moneth or sixe weekes together, whereby wee shall be constrayned of our selves w<sup>th</sup>oute chardginge of the Prince to builde greate shippes as well to avoide the daunger of tempest, as also for the commoditie of portage whereunto the greater shippes in longe voyadges are moste conveniente, w<sup>ch</sup> the Portingales and Spaniardes have founde oute by longe experience. Whoe for that cause builde shippes of v. vj. viij. C. and a M. Tonnes to sende into their easterne and westernne Indies.<sup>3</sup> The like whereof wee shalbe the rather invited to doe, since by this voyadge wee shall have many thinges for little or nothings that are necessarie for the furniture of greate shippinge. ffor beinge possessed of Newfounde lande w<sup>ch</sup> the last yere was seazed upon in her Ma<sup>ties</sup> name,<sup>4</sup> wee may have tarr, rosen, mastes, and cordage for the very workemanshippe of the same. All w<sup>ch</sup> commodities cannot choose but wonderfully invite our men to the buildinge of greate shippinge, especially havinge store of the best shipwrightes of the worlde, whereof some for wante of employmente at home, have bene driven to flye into forren partes as into Denmarke: Moreover in the judgemente of those that are experte in sea causes, yt will breed more skilfull, connynge, and stowte pilotts and maryners then other belonginge to this lande: ffor it is the longe voyadges (so they be not to excessive longe, nor throughe intemperate Clymates as those of the portingales into their west Indies) that harden seamen and open unto them the secretes of navigation, the nature of

<sup>1</sup> By his Bristol friends.

<sup>2</sup> Unrecognised.

<sup>3</sup> Roger Bodenham was one of those who urged on the state the need for ships of burden.

<sup>4</sup> By Sir Humfrey Gilbert.

*A lecture of  
the arte of  
navigation.*

the windes, the currentes and settinge of the Sea, the ebbingge and flowinge of the mayne Ocean, the influence of the sonne, the moone, and of the rest of the celestiall planetts, and force w<sup>ch</sup> they have at sondry seasons upon that mightie body: whiche skill in sea causes the Empero<sup>r</sup> Charles the fyfte knowinge howe moche yt did ymporte his state, to the intente it mighte better encrease amongst the Spaniardes, in great providence erected a lecture of the arte of navigation in Civill, and ordeyned that no man shoulde take chardge to the west Indies that had not hearde the Reader of the same for a certaine space, and upon due examynacion were allowed as sufficient by him and others adjoynd unto him as assistantes to examyn matters of experience: w<sup>ch</sup> order if it had bene established in england such grosse and insufficient felowes as he that caste away the Admirall of S<sup>r</sup> Humfryes company w<sup>th</sup> an C. persons in her to the west of Newfounde lande this tyme twelve moneths,<sup>1</sup> had not bene admitted to take so greate a chardge: But to returne to the increase and mayneteynaunce of our shippes and shippmen, I say this is not as the voyadge to Muscovy which is open not paste foure monethes, but may be passed and repassed at our pleasure at all tymes of the yere, and so our maryners may be sett on worke all the yere longe: Neither is the trade likely to prove so small as that of Muscovy, wherein not past tenne shippes at the moste are employed ones a yere: ffor here there is a greate hope the Contrie beinge as bigge as all Europe and nothinge in frutefulness inferio<sup>r</sup> to yt, as I have proved before at large in the thirde chapiter, that wee shall have twoo fleetes as bigge as those of the kinge of Spaine to his west Indies imployed twice in the yere at the leaste, especially after our fortifieng in the Contrie, the certen place of our factory beinge there established, whereby yt muste nedes come to passe that our navye shalbe mightly increased and mayneteyned: w<sup>ch</sup> will not onely be a chefe strengthe and suertie in tyme of warres, as well to offende as defende, but will also be the mayneteynaunce of many M<sup>rs</sup>, maryners, and seamen, whereby they their wyves and children shall have their lyvings, and many Cities, Townes, villages,

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt must have been writing this in August 1584. He later published the self-vindication of Richard Clarke, the Master referred to.

havens, and Creekes nere adjoyning unto the seacoaste, and the Queenes subjectes, as Brewers, Bowchers, Smithes, ropers, shipwrights, Tailors, shoemakers, and other victuallers and handicraftes men inhabitinge and dwellinge nere thereaboutes shall also have by the same greate parte of their lyvinge. ffor prooffe hereof wee nede not to seeke any further then unto oure neighbours of Spaine and Portingale, whoe since the firste discoverie of their Indies have not onely mightely enlarged their domynions, marveilously enriched themselves and their subjectes, but have also by juste accompte trebled the number of their shippes, M<sup>rs</sup>, and maryners, a matter of no small momente and importaunce. In so moche that nowe of late kinge Phillippe hath made the Marques de La Cruz, w<sup>ch</sup> laste yere wanne Tercera graunde Admirall of the Ocean sea, and Prince d'Oria of Genoa Admirall in the Levant. A taste of this increase wee have had in our owne selves even by our trade of fisshinge in New-founde lande w<sup>ch</sup> as yt is well knowne hath bene occasion that in sondry places of this Realme divers tall shippes have bene builte and sett furthe even of late daies,<sup>1</sup> and more would be if whereas nowe havinge but twoo moneths or tenne weekes of fisshinge, by this newe plantinge they mighte be drawen more south westerly where the speciall fisshing places are bothe for plentie and greatenes of fishe,<sup>2</sup> and beinge oute of daunger and ympedimente of yse, they mighte fishe there safely the greatest parte of the yere, and by their nerenes unto our fortes there builte aboute Cape Briton, they mighte yelde succour unto them, and likewise by their neighbourhoode be themselves in more securitie. ffynally their shippes, their goodds, and their persons shoulde not be subjecte to soodden arrestes of straungers as they are in all other trades of Christendome: but shoulde enjoye as greate freedome, libertie, and securitie as they usually doo in their native Contrie, the havens, Townes, and villages in those partes beinge occupied and possessed by their fellowe subjectes.<sup>3</sup> W<sup>ch</sup> freedome and libertie will greatly encourage them to contynewe constantly in this newe traficque.

*Marques de la Cruz Admirall of the Ocean.*

*A meane to avoide the sodden arrests of our navy.*

<sup>1</sup> Parkhurst speaks of the rapid increase of the English Banks fleet.

<sup>2</sup> In the Gulf of Maine.

<sup>3</sup> Again Hakluyt is envisaging large-scale and widespread settlement.

## Cap. 15.

That spedie plantinge in divers fitt places is moste necessarie upon these laste luckye westerne discoveries for feare of the danger of beinge prevented by other nations w<sup>ch</sup> have the like intention: w<sup>th</sup> the order thereof and other reasons therew<sup>th</sup>all alleaged.

Havinge by gods goodd guidinge and mercifull direction atchieved happely this presente westerne discoverye, after the seekinge the advauncement of the kingedome of Christe, the seconde chefe and principall ende of the same is traficque, w<sup>ch</sup> consisteth in the vent of the masse of our clothes and other commodities of England, and in receavinge backe of the nedeful commodities that wee nowe receive from all other places of the worlde. But forasmuche as this is a matter of greate ymport-aunce and a thinge of so greate gaine as forren princes will stomacke at,<sup>1</sup> this one thinge is to be don, w<sup>th</sup>oute w<sup>ch</sup> it were in vaine to goe aboute this, and that is the matter of plantinge and fortificacion,<sup>2</sup> w<sup>th</sup>oute due consideracion whereof in vaine were it to thinck of the former. And therefore upon the firste said viewe taken, by the shippes that are to be sente thither, wee are to plante upon the mouthes of the greate navigable Rivers w<sup>ch</sup> are there, by stronge order of fortification, and there to plante our Colonies. And so beinge firste settled in strengthe<sup>3</sup> w<sup>th</sup> men, armo<sup>r</sup> and munition, and havinge our navy w<sup>th</sup>in our Bayes, havens, and Roades, wee shall be able to lett<sup>4</sup> the entraunce of all subjectes of forren princes, and so with our freshe powers to encounter their shippes at the sea, and to renewe the same withe freshe men as the soodden feightes shall require. And by our fortes shalbe able to holde faste our firste footinge, and readily to annoye suche weary power of any other that shall seke to arryve. And shalbe able w<sup>th</sup> our navye to sende advertisemente into England upon every soodden<sup>5</sup> whatsoever shall happen. And these fortifications shall kepe the naturall people of the Contrye in obedience and goodd order. And these

<sup>1</sup> Resent.<sup>2</sup> The new trade must be protected.<sup>3</sup> Again the stress on large-scale settlement.<sup>4</sup> Prevent.<sup>5</sup> Emergency (O.E.D.).

fortes at the mowthes of those greate portable and navigable Ryvers, may at all tymes sende upp their shippes, Barkes, Barges, and boates into the Inland w<sup>th</sup> all the commodities of England, and returne unto the said fortes all the commodities of the Inlandes that wee shall receave in exchange, and thence at pleasure convey the same into England: And thus settled in those fortes yf the nexte neighbours shall attempte any annoye to our people, wee are kepte safe by our fortes; and wee may upon violence and wronge offred by them, ronne upon the Rivers w<sup>th</sup> our shippes, pynnesses, Barkes and boates and enter into league w<sup>th</sup> the petite princes their neighbours that have always lightly warres one w<sup>th</sup> an other, and so entringe league nowe w<sup>th</sup> the one, and then w<sup>th</sup> the other wee shall purchase our owne safetie and make ourselves Lordes of the whole.

Contrarywise w<sup>th</sup>oute this plantinge in due tyme wee shall never be able to have full knowledge of the language manners and customes of the people of those Regions, neither shall wee be able thoroughly to knowe the riches and commodities of the Inlandes w<sup>th</sup> many other secretes whereof as yet wee have but a small taste. And althoughe by other meanes wee mighte attaine to the knowledge thereof, yet beinge not there fortified and strongly seated, the french that swarme w<sup>th</sup> multitude of people, or other nations mighte secretly fortifie and settle themselves before us hearinge of the benefite that is to be reaped of that voyadge, and so wee shoulde beate the bushe and other men take the birdes: wee shoulde be at the chardge and travell, and other men reape the gaine. To make this plaine by example in the vj<sup>th</sup> leafe of the Italian edition of the *Historie of ffernando Cortes* written by ffranciscus Lopez de Gomera is lively described the folly of John Grigalva for his not inhabitinge that goodd and riche Contrie of Jucatan, w<sup>ch</sup> ymmediatly after he had neglected, the same ffernando Cortes tooke in hande and perfourmed and gott all the hono<sup>r</sup> and commoditie from him, leaving greate wealthe and hono<sup>r</sup> to his posteritie, and to himself an everlastinge name. The storye is thus: Giovan di Grigalva se n'ando a Jucatan combattere conquelli Indiani di Cimpoton, et se ne ritorno ferito entro nel fiume di Tanasco che per questo si chiama ora Grigalva, nel qual riscatto o cambio per cose di

poca valuto molto oro, robbe et cotone, et bellissime cose di penne. Statte in San Giovanni di Ullua, piglio possessione di quel paese per il re, in nome del Governatore Diego Velasques: et cambio la sua merciaria per pezzi di oro, coperte di cotone et penne. Et si havesse conosciuto la ventura sua, haveria fatto populatione in paese cosi ricco, come lo preganano i suoi compagni et lui saria stato quello che dipoi il cortes. Ma tanta ventura non era riservata per chi non la conosceva, ancora che si scusana che lui non andana per popolare, se non per riscattare o permutare le cose che levana del governatore: et discoprire, se quella terra di Jucatan era Isola o terra ferma.

And if any man liste to knowe what intertainement he had of his uncle at his returne for not inhabitinge upon the present occasion, yt followeth in the ende of the same Chapter in these wordes: Et quando arrivo non lo volse vedere il governatore suo zio, che li fece quello che lui meritana.

The like story wee have fol. 298.<sup>1</sup> of ffranciscus Lopes de Gomera his *generall historie of the west Indies* of Vasques de Coronado, w<sup>ch</sup> after excedinge greate chardges bestowed for his royall furnishinge furthe upon his voyadge to Cevola and Quivera for wante of courage and for other private respectes neglected plantinge there had as colde welcome at his dastardly and unconsiderate returne of Don Antonio de Mendoza viceroy of Mexico, as Grigalva had of his uncle above mentioned. It is written thus of him after his returne from Quivera:—

Cascò del Cavallo in Tiguez Francisco Vasques, e con il colpo uscì di Cervello et disvariana. Questo caso alcuni credettero che fusse finto, altri n'ebbero grandissimo dolore: Quelli che l'intendevano a mala parte stavano male con lui per che non si metteva a popolare. And a little afterwarde: molto dispiagne a Don Antonio di Mendoza che fussero ritornati, per che havena speso piu di sessanta milla pesi d'oro in quella impresa, molti volevano restare là, ma Francesco Vasques di Coronado, che ricco era et nuovamente maritato con una bellissima donna non volse, dicendo che non si poteriano sustentarsi ne defendere in cosi povero paesia et tanto lontani del soccorso. Caminarono presso a tre milla miglia di longo in questa Giornata.

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio, vol. iii.

Notw<sup>th</sup>standinge these colourable excuses and dispraisinges of the Contrie yt is described by relation of his owne companions in this manner in the same leafe: E Quivera in quaranta gradi. E paesa temperato, di bonissime acque, di molto herbatico, prugne, more, noci, et melloni, et une, che naturano bonissimo, non vi è cottone, et vestono pelle di vacche e capriole.

The greate inconvenience of the delaye and neglecte of plantinge w<sup>th</sup> spede of goodd Contries newe discovered beinge well weyed and foreseene by John Ribault, made him to plante and fortifie at his firste voyadge though he it were but w<sup>th</sup> thirtie men: w<sup>ch</sup> that you may the better understande together w<sup>th</sup> the wise course and choice of place w<sup>ch</sup> oughte to be had in plantinge and seatinge at the firste, I will alleage his owne wordes w<sup>ch</sup> are in the laste leafe of his firste printed voyadge: Wherefore (my Lorde) saith he I truste you will not thincke it amisse (consideringe the commodities that may be broughte thence) yf wee leave a number of men there, w<sup>ch</sup> may fortifie and provide themselves of thinges necessarie. ffor in all newe discoveries it is the chefest thinge that may be don at the begynnyng to fortifie and people the Contrie. I had not so soone set furthe this to our Companie, but many of them offred to tary there, yea w<sup>th</sup> suche a goodd will and jolly courage, that suche a number did offer themselves as wee had moche to doe to stay their importunitie. And namely of our shippe M<sup>rs</sup> and pilotts and suche as wee woulde not spare. Howebeit wee left there but to the number of 30. men in all gentlemen, souldiers, and maryners and that at their owne sute and prayer and of their owne free willes, and by the advise and deliberation of the gentlemen sent on the behalfe of the Prince and yours. And I have left unto them for heade and ruler, followinge therein your pleasure, Capitaine Albert de la Pierria, a souldier of longe experience and the firste that from the begynnyng offred to tary, and further by their advise choice and will inscaled and fortified them in an Iland on the northe side thereof, a place of stronge scituation and commodious upon a River which wee named Chevonceau, and the habitation and fortres Charlesforte. After wee had instructed and duely admonished them of what they should doe, as well for their manner of procedinge, as for the goode and lovinge

*The chefest  
pointe in all  
newe dis-  
coveries.*



behavio<sup>r</sup> of them, the xj<sup>th</sup> day of the moneth of June last paste wee departed from porte royall, &c.

*The cause  
why these  
discoveries  
went not  
forward in  
Kinge Henry  
the Seaventh  
tyme.*

Nowe to leave the Spaniardes and frenche and to come to ourselves, Seinge it hath pleased almightie god at this instant<sup>1</sup> to reveale unto her M<sup>tie</sup> and the Realme that once againe afreshe, w<sup>ch</sup> was in part discovered by Sebastian Gabota and other the subjectes of this lande to her moste famous Grandfather Kinge Henry the Seaventh, and was then lefte of and caste aside and not sufficiently regarded by occasion of the warres of Scotland as Sebastian himself writes, and so hath bene intermitted for the space of aboute foure score and sixe yerres: If nowe the Queene her Counsell and other subjectes shall never so little delaye the throughe mananginge of the cause and entringe effectually into the action, let them assure themselves that they will come to late and a day after the faire. ffor as the wise man saieth *post est occasio calva*. ffor to speake nothinge of the laste yerres preparation of the Marques de la Roche to inhabite and plante in those partes nowe discovered by our men w<sup>ch</sup> preparation was luckely overthrowne in respecte of us by reason that his greatest shippe was cast away upon the travers of Burwage,<sup>2</sup> the men of St. John de Luze sent the laste yere to sollicite the frenche kinge and his Counsell to plante there,<sup>3</sup> And nowe our neighbours the men of St. Maloe in Brytaine in the begynnynge of Auguste laste paste of this yere 1584 are come home w<sup>th</sup> five shippes from Canada and the Contries upp the Bay of St. Laurence and have brought twoo of the people of the Contrie home, and have founde suche swete in that newe trade that they are preparinge tenne shippes to returne thither in January nexte,<sup>4</sup> as one John de la Marche and Mr. Pryhouse of Garnesey affirme, w<sup>ch</sup> Mr. Pryhouse beinge yet in London was at St. Malowe w<sup>th</sup>in these five weekes,<sup>5</sup> and sawe the twoo savages, the five shippes and the riche commodities and under-

<sup>1</sup> It must therefore have been in mid-September, when Raleigh's two barks returned, that this section was written.

<sup>2</sup> See *supra*, p. 227.

<sup>3</sup> The Basques (cf. *supra*, p. 232).

<sup>4</sup> These were the voyages in which Jacques Cartier's nephew and grand-nephews took part.

<sup>5</sup> Again confirming the date at which this section was written as mid-September. For Pryhouse read Prideaux.

stoode of the greate preparation, And lieth nowe at London in philpott lane at the stonehouse there. And that it may be knowen that not onely the ffrenche affecte this enterprize, but even the duche longe since thoughte of yt, I can assure you that Abraham Ortelius the great Geographer told me at his laste beinge in England 1577<sup>1</sup> that if the warres of fflaunders had not bene, they of the Lowe Contries had meant to have discovered those partes of America, and the northwest straite before this tyme. And yt semed that the chefe cause of his comynge into England was to no other ende but to pry and looke into the secretes of ffrobishers voyadge, for yt was even then when ffrobisher was preparinge for his first returne into the north west.<sup>2</sup> To conclude yf wee doe procrastinate the plantinge, (and where our men have nowe presently discovered<sup>3</sup> and founde it to be the best parte of America that is lefte and in truthe more agreable to our natures, and more nere unto us then Nova hispania), the frenche, the Normans, the Brytons, or the duche, or some other nation will not onely prevente us of the mightie Baye of St. Laurence where they have gotten the starte of us already, though we had the same revealed to us by bookes published and printed in Englishe before them,<sup>4</sup> but also will deprive us of that goodd lande which nowe wee have discovered. Which if they doe (as god defende<sup>5</sup> they shoulde), then it falleth oute that wee shall have our enemyes or doubtfull frendes rounde aboute us, and shall not onely loose a singuler commoditie and inestymable benefite, but also incurr greate daunger and inconvenience in suffringe papistes by plantinge rounde aboute us to take from us all succours, and to lett them enriche themselves under our noses to be better able to supplant or overronne us.

<sup>1</sup> When he also saw Camden and Dee.

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.* his second voyage.

<sup>3</sup> Captains Amadas and Barlow.

<sup>4</sup> A reference, presumably, to Florio's *Cartier*.

<sup>5</sup> Forbid.

## Cap. 16.

Meanes to kepe this enterprise from overthrowe and the enterprisers from shame and dishonour.

Every newe enterprise is in the begynnyinge burdenous, chardgeable and heaue, and moste commonly hath many greate enemies: w<sup>ch</sup> is the cause that many goodd men much affected to their Contrie in wittie excellent enterprises, sincke and fainte under their burden. And because that this enterprise w<sup>ch</sup> wee have in hande or in purpose (besides that it is much maliced specially by our mightie faction of the papistes),<sup>1</sup> is an enterprize that requireth beside the fauour of the prince no small chardge, Therefore wee are to devise howe the burden may leste<sup>2</sup> tyme reste on the backe of the bearer of the same,<sup>3</sup> that he sincke not under the same, but that he maye stande upp in full strengthe, and goe throughe w<sup>th</sup> ease, fame, and profit w<sup>th</sup>oute shame of all the bymedlers<sup>4</sup> and fauters<sup>5</sup> of the same. And entred into consideracion hereof, this cometh to mynde, that the firste chardge of the navye to be admitted as for the present deade chardge for the tyme, howe supply of the chardges followinge may be mayneteyned, and borne, for in that standeth one greate matter that ymporteth hono<sup>r</sup>, credite, profite and the whole sequele of the enterprize: Wee are induced by late plaine examples of the frenche, that have traficqued in those partes with greate profite, to beleve that upon our plantinge wee shall as yt were defraye as well the firste chardges as the chardges followinge by the commodities in trafficque that wee shall receave by passinge into the Inland by River and otherwise: But admittinge the worse that the people will neither receave o<sup>r</sup> commodities, nor yelde us theirs againe; Then wee are to devise of our selves howe wee may otherwise at the firste countervaile our chardges and become greate gayners will or nill the naturall inhabitantes of those Regions or others: And that is by enjoyinge certaine

<sup>1</sup> Who had lost their opportunity when Sir George Peckham's efforts failed.

<sup>2</sup> Least.

<sup>3</sup> Ralegh.

<sup>4</sup> Those who take part, not used in any bad sense.

<sup>5</sup> Partisans.

naturall commodities of the landes infinitely aboundinge in no accompte with them and w<sup>th</sup> us of greate price, w<sup>ch</sup> is this way to be broughte aboute.

The soiles there upon the seacoaste and all alonge the tracte of the greate broade mightie Ryvers all alonge many hundreth miles into the Inland are infinitely full fraughte w<sup>th</sup> swete wooddes of ffyrr, cedars, cypres, and w<sup>th</sup> divers other kindes of goodly trees: And settinge upp mylles to sawe them, suche as be commen in poland and in all the northeaste regions, wee may w<sup>th</sup> spede possesse infinite masses of boordes of these swete kindes, and those frame and make ready to be turned into goodly chestes, cupboordes, stooles, tables, deskes &c. upon the returne. And consideringe the present wante of tymber in the Realme, and howe derely the Cipres chestes are solde that come from the Ilandes of the levant seas, and lately from the Azores to Bristoll<sup>1</sup> and the westerne havens, these may be bothe amply and derely vented in all the portes of the Realme and of the Realmes adjoyninge, consideringe that in this age every man desireth to fill his house w<sup>th</sup> all manner of goodd furniture. So that were there no other peculier commodities, this onely I say were ynoughe to defraye all the chardges of all the begynnynge of the enterprize, and that oute of hande, for suche mylwrightes may easely be procured from suche places where they abounde, and some suche (possible) be in England, for I have herde of a frende of myne, that one suche mill w<sup>th</sup>in these xxx<sup>ti</sup>. yeres was sett upp in Worcestershere by a knyghte of that Contrie. And one man onely were able to directe a thousande of our common milwrightes in that trade, and Carpenters and Joyners, the realme may spare thousandes for a nede.<sup>2</sup> And w<sup>th</sup> like ease and shortenes of time wee may make of the wooddes there pitch and tarr w<sup>ch</sup> are thinges fitt for o<sup>r</sup> navie and marchandizes of goodd vente and of common neede.

And w<sup>th</sup> like ease wee may make of the wooddes there plentie of sope ashes a commoditie very dere and of greate and ample vent w<sup>t</sup> us and elsewhere in forren kingdomes of Europe.

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt frequently reveals his special knowledge of Bristol trade.

<sup>2</sup> Unemployment was common among artisans as well as among agricultural labourers.

Also wee may there prepare for pikes, chashing staves, oares, halberts, and the like for cullen<sup>1</sup> cleftes<sup>2</sup> for sondry uses, &c. And also wee may there w<sup>th</sup>oute payeng for the same, have tymber to builde greate navies, and may bringe them into this Realme, and have goodd sale of the same.<sup>3</sup>

All this I say may be broughte to passe, if wee wisely plante upon o<sup>r</sup> arryvall aboute the mouthes of greate Rivers and in the Ilandes of the same: and so wee shall have the starte before the frenche and all others, and our people sente thither for the purposes afore, shall be ready to man our shippes to give repulse at the firste to all suche as shall come thither to sett foote to our annoye.

Thus all thinges removed that mighte bringe discouragemente, The firste that tooke the enterprise in hande have wonne greate hono<sup>r</sup> and highe estymation w<sup>th</sup> all degrees in England, and havinge by these former meanes wonne to defraye all the chardges of the brunte of thenterprize, they stande full able to followe the same w<sup>th</sup>oute cravinge aide of the lingringe<sup>4</sup> marchaunte, and have the possibilitie onely to themselves of the trades of traficque w<sup>th</sup> the people, w<sup>ch</sup> they may bringe aboute eyther w<sup>th</sup> curtesie or by pollicie and force, as by joyninge now w<sup>th</sup> this petite kinge and nowe w<sup>th</sup> that, &c.

And this once plainely founde and noted in England, what noble man, what gentleman, what marchante, what citizen or contryman will not offer of himselfe to contribute and joyne in the action, forseeinge that the same tendeth to the ample vent of o<sup>r</sup> clothes, to the purchasing of riche commodities, to the plantinge of younger brethren,<sup>5</sup> to the employment of our idle people, and to so many noble endes, and greate joyninge in contribution upon so happy begynnynge geveth abilitie to fortifie, to defende all forren force in divers commodious places even at the firste.

<sup>1</sup> Selected.

<sup>2</sup> Split timber.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt ignores the problems of organisation and capital expenditure necessary for setting up new industries even where raw material costs nothing.

<sup>4</sup> Dawdling, reluctant.

<sup>5</sup> Younger sons of the nobility and gentry.

## Cap. 17.

That by these colonies the northwest passage to Cathaio and China may easily quickly and perfectly be searched oute as well by River and overlande as by sea, for prooffe whereof here are quoted and alleaged divers rare Testymonies oute of the three volumes of voyadges gathered by Ramusius and other grave authors.

In the thirde volume of Navigations and voyadges, gathered and translated into Italian by Mr. John Baptista Ramusius fol. 417. pag. 2. I reade of John Verarsanus as followeth: This unhappy ende had this valiaunte gentleman, whoe if this misfortune had not happened unto him (w<sup>th</sup> the singuler knowledge that he had in sea matters and in the arte of navigation, beinge also favoured w<sup>th</sup> the greate liberalitie of kinge ffrances), woulde have discovered and opened unto the worlde that parte also of Lande even to the poole.<sup>1</sup> Neither woulde he have contented himselfe w<sup>th</sup> the outeside and sea coaste onely, but woulde have passed further upp w<sup>th</sup>in the lande so farr as he coulde have gon. And many that have knowen him and talked w<sup>th</sup> him have told me that he saied he had in mynde to perswade the frenche kinge to sende oute of ffrance a goodd number of people to inhabite certaine places of the said coaste w<sup>ch</sup> be of ayre temperate and of soile moste fertile, w<sup>th</sup> very faire ryvers and havens able to receave any navie: The inhabitants of w<sup>ch</sup> places mighte be occasion to bringe to passe many goodd effectes, and amongst other to reduce those poore rude and ignoraunte people to the knowledge of god and true relligion, and to shewe them the manner of husbandrie for the grounde, transportinge of the beastes of Europe into those excedinge large and champion Contries: And in time mighte discover the partes w<sup>th</sup>in lande, and see if amongst so many Ilandes there be any passage to the southe sea, or whither the firme lande of fflorida contynewe still even to the pole.<sup>2</sup> Upon occasion of these laste wordes I thincke it not amisse to alleage those Testimonies tendinge to the prooffe of this longe desired

<sup>1</sup> Pole.

<sup>2</sup> Here the quotation from Ramusio ends.

northwest passage, w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> no small care these many yeres I have observed in my readings and conferences<sup>1</sup> concerninge the same matter.

1. My firste auctoritie is in the seconde volume of Ramusius in the discourse of the discoverie of the Ilandes ffreseland, Iseland, Estotiland, Engroneland, Drogeo, and Icaria made in the northe by S<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Zeny Knighte and Mr. Anthony his brother in the yere 1380.<sup>2</sup> In w<sup>ch</sup> discourse amonge many other thinges tendinge to the prooffe of this passage, I finde this recorded: Scoprirono vna Isola detta Estotilanda posta in ponente lontana da Frislanda piu che mille miglia, whereof I gather that whereas still he calleth Estotiland an Ilande and that it is distant westwarde from ffrislande more then a thousande miles, that the sea is open above five hundreth miles further then ffrobisher and his companie discovered: ffor he himself confesseth y<sup>t</sup> he never sailed paste five or sixe hundreth miles to the weste of ffriselande<sup>3</sup> and here is mention made that those fishermen that discovered the iland of Estotiland founde it to be more then a M. miles to the weste of the same.

2. The seconde testimonie to prove this northwest passage is in the preface of the aforesaide Ramusius before his thirde volume where he alleageth in manner followinge that w<sup>ch</sup> Sebastian Gabote wrote unto him concerninge this matter: Many yeres paste I was written unto by Sebastian Gabote our contryman a venecian and a man of greate experience and very singuler in the arte of navigation and in the knowledge of Cosmographie, whoe sailed alonge and beyonde Nova ffrancia, at the chardges of kinge Henry the seaventh kinge of England, and he signified unto me that havinge sailed a longe tyme west and by northe beyonde these Ilandes unto the latitude of 67. degrees and [an halfe] under the north pole, on the xj<sup>th</sup> day of June, and findinge the sea open and w<sup>th</sup>oute any manner of ympedymente, he thoughte verely that he mighte have passed by that way unto Cathaia w<sup>ch</sup> is in the easte: and he woulde have done yt, if the mutinie of the shipm<sup>r</sup> and unruly mariners

<sup>1</sup> Probably since about 1577.

<sup>2</sup> This spurious narrative was accepted by Dee, Ortelius and Mercator.

<sup>3</sup> Frobisher mistook the south of Greenland for the mythical Friseland.

had not inforced him to returne homewardest from that place; But it semeth (saith Ramusius) that god doth yet reserve to some greate prince the discoverie of this voyadge to Cathaio by this way, w<sup>ch</sup> for the bringinge of the spicerie from India into Europe woulde be the moste easie and shortest of all others hitherto founde oute. And surely this enterprize woulde be the moste glorious and of moste importaunce of all other that any coulde ymagine to make their name moche more eternall and ymmortale amonge all ages to come, then these so greate tumultes and troubles of warres w<sup>ch</sup> are to be seene contynually in Europe amonge the miserable and unhappy Christians.<sup>1</sup>

3. Thirdly the reporte w<sup>ch</sup> the people of Hochelaga made to Jacques Cartier, in the viij<sup>th</sup>. chapter of his seconde relation of the River three monethes navigable to the southewarde dothe not a little confirme the same.

4. ffourthly the relation of the people of Canada in the xij<sup>th</sup>. Chapter followinge on this manner. Moreover they tolde us and gave us to understande that there are people cladde w<sup>th</sup> clothe as wee are, and that there are many inhabited Townes and goodd people, and that they have greate store of golde and redd copper, and that upp into the lande beyonde the River firste above mentioned even to Hochelaga and Saguinay there is an Ile environed aboute w<sup>th</sup> that and other Rivers w<sup>ch</sup> beyonde Saguenay entereth into twoo or three greate lakes. Also that there is founde a sea of freshe water the heade and ende whereof there was never man founde that had throughly searched as farr as they have hearde say of them of Saguenay, for they (as they signified unto us) had not bene there themselves.

5. ffyftly in the ende of that seconde relation this postscripte is added as a speciall pointe. To witt that they of Canada say that it is the space of a moone (y<sup>t</sup> is to saye a moneth) to saile to a lande where Cynamon and cloves are gathered, and in the frenche originall which I sawe in the kinges Library at Parris in the Abbay of St. Martines<sup>2</sup> y<sup>t</sup> is further put downe that Domaconna the Kinge of Canada in his barke had traveled to

<sup>1</sup> This passage in his favourite text-book made a deep impression on Hakluyt.

<sup>2</sup> Henry II transferred the Library from Fontainebleau to St Martin's Abbey.



that contrie where Cynamon and cloves are had, yea and the names whereby the Savages call those twoo spices in their owne language are there put downe in writinge.

6. Sixtly this passage is likewise proved by the double reporte of Vasques de Coronado. ffor firste he beinge at Cevola, w<sup>ch</sup> standeth in 37. degrees and an halfe of northerly latitude within the lande, he had this informacion of the people of that place fanno otto giornate verso le campagne al mare di settentrione: whereby I gather that some parte of the northerne sea ys w<sup>th</sup>in viij. daies journey of Cevola. Againe when he was afterwarde at the Towne of Quivera, w<sup>ch</sup> is scituated by the sea side in the latitude of 40. degrees he founde there shippes w<sup>th</sup> maryners w<sup>ch</sup> had the picture of a birde called Alcatrazzi in silver upon their bonnetts<sup>1</sup> and on the forepartes of their shippes w<sup>ch</sup> signified that they were thirtie daies sailinge to that place, where it is saied that they muste nedes be of Cathaio or China seinge that there is none but spanishe shippinge upon all the coaste of the backside of Nova Spania.

7. Seavently the people of fflorida at the River of May in 30. degrees signified to John Ribault and his Company that they mighte saile in boates from thence through the Contrie by Ryver to Cevola in xx<sup>ti</sup>. daies: These are the wordes: viz. As wee nowe demaunded of them concerninge the Towne of Cevola (whereof some have written that it is not farr from thence and is scituated w<sup>th</sup>in the lande and towards the sea called mare del sur) they shewed us by signes w<sup>ch</sup> wee understoode well ynoughe that they mighte goe thither w<sup>th</sup> their boates by Rivers in xx<sup>ti</sup>. daies.<sup>2</sup>

8. Eightly Don Antonio di Castillo Embassador to her Mat<sup>tie</sup> from Henry the kinge of Portingale, tolde me here in London the yere before his departure,<sup>3</sup> that one Anus Corteriall Capitaine of the Ile of Tercera, in the yere 1574. sente a shippe to discover the northwest passage w<sup>ch</sup> arryvinge on the coaste of America in 57. degrees of latitude founde a greate entraunce very depe and broad w<sup>th</sup>oute impedimente of Ise into w<sup>ch</sup> they passed above xx<sup>ti</sup>. leagues and founde it alwayes to tende

<sup>1</sup> Top-sails.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> In March 1581/2, before the beginning (March 25th) of 1582. The Ambassador left in April 1582.

towardses the southe, the lande lay lowe and plaine on either side, they woulde have gon further but their victualls drawinge shorte, and beinge but one shippe, they returned backe, w<sup>th</sup> hope at another tyme to make a full searche of the passage whereof they sawe not small<sup>1</sup> likelyhoodde.

9. Nynthly Don Antonio Kinge of Portingale<sup>2</sup> shewed me in Paris this present sommer a greate olde rounde carde (out of w<sup>ch</sup> Postellus tooke the forme of his mappe<sup>3</sup>) that had the northwest straite plainely sett downe in the latitude of 57. degrees.

10. Tenthly there is a mightie large olde mappe in parchemente made as yt shoulde seme by Verarsanus,<sup>4</sup> traced all alonge the coaste from fflorida to Cape Briton w<sup>th</sup> many Italian names, w<sup>ch</sup> laieth oute the sea making a little necke of lande in 40. degrees of latitude, much lyke the streyte necke or Isthmus of Dariena. This mappe is nowe in the custodie of M<sup>r</sup>. Michael Locke.<sup>5</sup>

11. Eleventhly there is an olde excellent globe in the Queenes privie gallory at Westminster w<sup>ch</sup> also semeth to be of Verarsanus makinge havinge the coaste described in Italian w<sup>ch</sup> laieth oute the very selfe same streite necke of lande in the latitude of 40. degrees w<sup>th</sup> the sea joyninge harde on bothe sides as it dothe on Panama and Nombre di Dios w<sup>ch</sup> were a matter of singuler importaunce yf it shoulde be true as it is not unlikely.<sup>6</sup>

12. Twelvethly the judgements of Gerardus Mercator that excellent Geographer, w<sup>ch</sup> his sonne Rumolde Mercator shewed me in a letter of his and drewe oute for me in writinge, of wise men is not lightly to be regarded:<sup>7</sup> These were his wordes: Magna tametsi pauca de nova navigatione scribis, quam miror ante multos annos non fuisse attentatam. Non enim dubium est quin recta et brevis via pateat in occidentem Cathaium vsque.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. great likelihood. Hakluyt prefixed this story to his *Divers Voyages*, without naming Castilio, *supra*, cf. p. 174.

<sup>2</sup> The Pretender.

<sup>3</sup> The world map of Postellus (1581) was on a polar projection.

<sup>4</sup> Who probably gave it to Henry VIII on his visit in 1525/6.

<sup>5</sup> Lok used it in compiling his map for *Divers Voyages*.

<sup>6</sup> Among maps showing this isthmus is the Vesconte de Mailolo Map of 1527.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *supra*, p. 177.

In quod regnum si recte navigationem instituant, nobilissimas totius mundi merces colligent, et multis gentibus adhuc Idololatri Christi nomen communicabunt. You write (saieth he to his sonne) greate matters thoughe very brefely of the newe voyadge, whereat I wonder that it was not these many yeres heretofore attempted: ffor there is no doubt but there is a streight and shorte waye open into the west even to Cathaio. Into w<sup>ch</sup> kingdome if they governe their voyadge well, they shall gather the moste noble marchandize of all the worlde and shall make the name of Christe to be knowen to many Idolaters and heathen people.

13. Hereunto agreeth the relation of Monsieur de Leau an honest gent of Morleux<sup>1</sup> in Britaine w<sup>ch</sup> tolde me this springe in the presence of divers englishe men at Paris that a man of St. Malowe this laste yere discovered the sea on the backside of Hochelaga.<sup>2</sup>

14. Moreover the relation of David Ingram confirmeth the same, for as he avowcheth and hath put it downe in writinge, he traveled twoo daies in the sighte of the north sea.<sup>3</sup>

15. Againe the prohibition which Kinge Philippe hath made<sup>4</sup> that none of his pilotts shall discover to the northewardes of 45. degrees may seme chefully to procede of these twoo causes: The one leaste passinge further to the northe, they mighte fall upon the open passage from Mare del Sur into our northerne sea: The other because they have not people ynoughe to possesse and kepe the same, but rather in tyme shoulde open a gappe for other nations to passe that waye.

16. Lastly I will ende w<sup>th</sup> the earnest petition and constant assertion of Ramusius, in his firste Volume fol. 374. where speakinge of the severall waies by w<sup>ch</sup> ye spicery bothe of olde and of late yeres hath bene broughte into Europe, he useth these speaches in the person of another: Why doo not the princes (saieth he) w<sup>ch</sup> are to deale in these affaires sende furthe twoo or three Colonies to inhabite the Contrie and to reduce this savage nation to more civilitie consideringe what a battle<sup>5</sup> and frutefull

<sup>1</sup> Morlaix.

<sup>2</sup> He possibly glimpsed Lake Ontario.

<sup>3</sup> Ingram was examined by the Committee of 1582. His *Relation*, printed in 1589, was omitted from the 1599 edition of the *English Voyages* as unreliable.

<sup>4</sup> Referred to by Gilbert in his *Discourse*.

<sup>5</sup> Rich.

soile it is, how replenished w<sup>th</sup> all kinde of graine, howe it is stored w<sup>th</sup> all kinde of birdes and beastes, w<sup>th</sup> such faire and mightie Rivers that Capitaine Cartier and his Companie in one of them sailed upp an C. and iiij<sup>xx</sup>. leagues findinge the Contrie peopled on bothe sides in greate aboundaunce: And moreover to cause the governours of those Colonies to sende furthe men to discover the northe landes aboute Terra de Labrador and west northwest towardses the seas, w<sup>ch</sup> are to saile to the Contrie of Cathaio and from thence to the Ilandes of Molucka. These are enterprises to purchase ymmortal praise w<sup>ch</sup> the Lord Antony de Mendoza viceroy of Mexico willinge to put in execution sente furthe his Capitaines bothe by sea and lande upon the northwest of Nova Spania and discovered the kingdomes of the seaven Cities aboute Cevola: And Franciscus Vasques de Coronado passed from Mexico by lande towardses the northwest 2850. miles, in so moche as he came to the sea w<sup>ch</sup> lieth betwene Cathaio and America where he mett w<sup>th</sup> the Cathaian shippes: And no doubt if the frenche men in this their Nova Francia woulde have discovered upp further into the lande towardses the west northwest partes they shoulde have founde the sea and have sailed to Cathaio: Thus farr Ramusius.

God w<sup>ch</sup> doth all thinges in his due tyme, and hath in his hande the hartes of all Princes, stirr upp the mynde of her M<sup>tie</sup> at lengthe to assiste<sup>1</sup> her moste willinge and forwarde Subjectes to the perfourmance of this moste godly and profitable action w<sup>ch</sup> was begonne at the chardges of Kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. her grandfather, followed by Kinge Henry the eighte her father, and lefte as it semeth to be accomplished by her (as the three yeres golden voyadge to Ophir was by Salomon) to the makinge of her Realme and subjectes moste happy, and her selfe moste famous to all posteritie. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Not merely the licence but the purse of the Queen was what Hakluyt aimed at for Raleigh's venture.

## Cap. 18.

That the Queene of Englandes Title to all the west Indies or at the leaste to as moche as is from Florida to the Circle articke is more lawfull and righte then the Spaniardes or any other christian Princes.

To confute the generall claime and unlawfull title of the insatiable Spaniardes to all the west Indies, and to prove the justenes of her Mat<sup>ties</sup> title and of her noble progenito<sup>rs</sup> if not to all yet at leaste to that parte of America w<sup>ch</sup> is from Florida beyonde the Circle articke, wee are to sett downe in true order accordinge to the juste observation of tyme, when the west Indy<sup>es</sup> w<sup>th</sup> the Ilandes and continent of the same were firste discovered and inhabited, and by what nation, and by whome. Then are wee to answer in generall and particularly to the moste injurious and unreasonable donation graunted by Pope Alexander the sixte a spaniarde borne of all the west Indies to the kinges of Spaine and their Successors, to the greate prejudice of all other christian Princes but especially to the damage of the kinges of England.

ffor the firste pointe wee of England have to shewe very auncient and auctenticall Chronicles written in the welshe or brittishe tongue, wherein wee finde that one Madock ap Owen Guyneth a Prince of North Wales beinge wearye of the civill warres and domesticall dissentions in his Contrie, made twoo voyadges oute of Wales and discovered and planted large Contries w<sup>ch</sup> he founde in the mayne Ocean south westwarde of Ireland, in the yere of our Lorde 1170. This historie is also to be seene in englishe in printe in the booke sett furthe this yere of the Princes of Wales, dedicated to S<sup>r</sup> Henry Sidney.<sup>1</sup> And this is confirmed by the language of some of those people that dwell upon the continent betwene the Bay of Mexico and the graunde Bay of Newfoundelande, whose language is said to agree w<sup>th</sup> the welshe in divers wordes and names of places by experience of some of o<sup>r</sup> nation that have bene in those partes.<sup>2</sup> By this Testimonie it appereth that the west Indies were dis-

<sup>1</sup> Powell's edition of Lhuyd's *History of Cambria*. The Dedication is to Philip Sidney.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Walker and David Ingram.

covered and inhabited 322. yeres before Columbus made his firste voyadge w<sup>ch</sup> was in the yere 1492.

Secondly the acceptation of Columbus his offer of the West Indies by Kinge Henry the Seaventh at the very firste maketh moche for the title of the kinges of England althoughe they had no former interest: w<sup>ch</sup> I will here putt downe as I finde it in the eleventh Chapter of the historie of Ferdinandus Columbus of the Relation of the life and doinges of his father.<sup>1</sup> This practise saieth he of the kinge of Portingale (w<sup>ch</sup> was secretly to deprive him of the hono<sup>r</sup> of his enterprize) beinge come to the knowledge of the Admyrall and havinge lately buried his wife, he conceaved so greate hatred againste the citie of Lysbone and the nation, that he determyned to goe into Castile w<sup>th</sup> a younge sonne that he had by his wife called Diego Colon, w<sup>ch</sup> after his fathers deathe succeded in his state. But fearinge yf the kinges of Castile also shoulde not consente unto his enterprize he shoulde be constrayned to begynne againe to make some newe offer of the same to some other Prince, and so longe tyme shoulde be spent therein, he sente into England a brother of his w<sup>ch</sup> he had w<sup>th</sup> him named Bartholmewe Columbus: Nowe Bartholmewe Columbus beinge departed for England, his fortune was to fall into the handes of pyrates w<sup>ch</sup> robbed him and his other Companions that were in his shippe of all that they had: By w<sup>ch</sup> occasion and meanes of his povertie and sicknes w<sup>ch</sup> cruelly afflicted him in a strange Contrie, he deferred for a longe space his Embassage, till havinge gotten upp a little money by makinge of seacardes, he began to practize w<sup>th</sup> kinge Henry the seaventhe the father of kinge Henry the viij<sup>th</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> nowe reigneth: to whome he presented A general Carde<sup>2</sup> wherein these verses were written, w<sup>ch</sup> I will rather here put downe for their antiquitie then for their elegancie:

Terrarum quicunque cupis fœliciter oras  
Noscere, cuncta decens doctè pictura docebit:  
Quam Strabo affirmat, Ptolomæus, Plinius atque  
Isodorus: non una tamen sententia cuique.  
Pingitur hîc etiam nuper sulcata carinis  
Hispanis Zona illa, priùs incognita genti  
Torrida, quæ tandem nunc est notissima multis.

<sup>1</sup> From the Venetian edition of 1572.

<sup>2</sup> A world map.

And somewhat more beneath he saied :

*Pro authore sive pictore.*

Janua cui patria est, nomen cui Bartholomæus  
Columbus, de terra rubra, opus edidit istud  
Londonijs, Anno Domini 1480 atque insuper anno  
Octavo, decimâque die cùm tertia mensis  
Februarij: Laudes Christo cantentur abundè.

But to returne to the kinge of England I say<sup>1</sup> that after he had sene the generall Carde, and that w<sup>ch</sup> the Admyrall Columbus offred unto him, he accepted his offer w<sup>th</sup> a cherefull countenance, and sente to call him into England. These thinges beinge so, wee nede not to be our owne Judges, but are able to prove as you see by a forren Testimonie of singuler greate authoritie that Christopher Columbus beinge in Portingale before he wente into Castile sente his brother Bartholmewe into England to practise w<sup>th</sup> kinge Henry the seaventh aboute the discovery of the West Indies, and that his said brother made his generall seacarde of this secrete voyadge in London in the yere of o<sup>r</sup> lorde 1488. the xijth. of ffebruary, above foure yeres before Christopher was sett oute upon his firste voyadge by the Princes of Spaine fferdinando and Isabella, w<sup>ch</sup> was the thirde of Auguste 1492. It appereth also that the onely cause of his slowe dispatche was his fallinge into the handes of pyrates w<sup>ch</sup> spoiled him and his Companie of all that they had, whereby he was inforced a longe tyme to worke in London in makinge instrumentes and sea cardes to get somewhat aboute him that he mighte come in some honest furniture to the kinges presence. Also that there was no delaye nor wante of goodd will of the kinges parte to sett furthe the action, whoe willingly condescended to all Columbus demaundes, as is further to be seene in the 60. chapiter of the same historie: where I reade y<sup>t</sup> Bartholmewe Columbus, havinge agreed w<sup>th</sup> the kinge of England upon all Capitulations, and returninge into Spaine by ffraunce to fetch his brother, when he hearde newes at Paris that he had concluded in the meane season w<sup>th</sup> the kinge of Spaine and was entred into the action for him, was not a little

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* the author, Hakluyt.

vexed for his brothers abusing the kinge of England w<sup>ch</sup> had so curteously graunted all his requestes and accepted of his offer. But Christofer not receavinge so spedy aunswer as he hoped for from his brother oute of England by reason of his fallinge into pirates handes as is aforesaide, and not by reason of any slacknes or unwillingnes of the kinge, in the meane season for feare of beinge prevented by the portingales w<sup>ch</sup> once before in secrete manner had gon aboute to take the hono<sup>r</sup> of the action oute of his handes, was stirred contrary to honesty to play on bothe handes, and to deal w<sup>th</sup> the Princes of Spaine before he had received the kinge of Englandes resolucion. But leavinge this abuse offered to the kinge of England either by Christopher Columbus or the kinges of Spaine in takinge that enterprise oute of his handes w<sup>ch</sup> was first sente to him and never refused by him, and to put the case that Columbus firste discovered parte of the Ilandes of Hispaniola and Cuba, yet wee will prove most plainely, that a very greate and large parte as well of the continent as of the Ilandes was firste discovered for the kinge of England by Sebastian Gabote an Englishe man borne in Bristoll, the sonne of John Gabote a venesian, in the yere of o<sup>r</sup> Lorde 1496 as an Italian gent a greate philosopher and mathematitian witnesseth w<sup>ch</sup> harde the same of his owne mouthe,<sup>1</sup> and there were many then also lyvinge w<sup>ch</sup> wente with him in that voyadge, w<sup>ch</sup> coulde have proved him a liar yf it had bene otherwise: These be the very wordes of this gent w<sup>ch</sup> he uttered to certen noblemen of Venyce upon the disputation concerninge the voyadges of the spicerie: Know yee not (quoth he) to this effecte to goe to finde the easte Indies by the northwest, that w<sup>ch</sup> one of your Citie hath done: which is so skilfull in the arte of navigacion and Cosmographie, that he hath not his like in Spaine at this day? And his sufficiencie hath so greatly advaunced him, that the kinge hath geven him the oversighte of all the pilotts that saile to the west Indies, so that w<sup>th</sup>oute his licence they cannot meddle in this arte, by reason whereof they call him the graund pilott. This was segnior Sebastian Gabote w<sup>ch</sup> I wente to see beinge myselfe in Cyvill

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt returns to Ramusio for his evidences. For a discussion of this passage see J. A. Williamson, *Voyages of the Cabots*, p. 232.



certen yeres paste, whome I founde to be a moste curteous and gentle person. After he had made very moche of me, and geven me good entertainment he shewed me many singularities w<sup>ch</sup> he had, and amonge the rest a greate mappe of the worlde, wherein were marked and described all the particuler navigations as well of the portingales as of the Castilians. And he declared unto me that his father beinge departed from Venyce, he wente to dwell in England for trade of marchandize, and caried him w<sup>th</sup> him to the Citie of London, though he were very younge: yet for all that not so younge but that he had studied of humanitie and the sphere: Moreover that his father died aboute the tyme that the newes came that Christopher Colon had discovered the coaste of the west Indies and there was no other talke but of that in the Courte of kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. w<sup>ch</sup> reigned then in England. Whereof every man saied that yt was rather a thinge devine then humaine to have founde out that way never knowen before, to goe by the west into the easte: This brute<sup>1</sup> of Segnior Columbus did so inflame my harte, that I determynd also to doe some notable thinge. And knowinge by the reason of the Sphere that, in directinge my course righte towardes the northwest I shoulde shorten the way greatly to goe to the easte Indies, w<sup>th</sup>out delaye I gave the kinges Matie to understande of myne opinion, w<sup>ch</sup> was marveylously well pleased: and he furnished me of twoo shippes w<sup>th</sup> all thinges necessarie: and this was in the yere 1496. in the begynnyng of sommer: And I began to saile towardes the northwest thinckinge to finde no lande savinge that where Cathaio is, and from thence to turne towardes the Indies. But after certaine daies I discouered lande w<sup>ch</sup> ronnethe towardes the northe, wherew<sup>th</sup>all I was exceedingly agrieved: notwithstandinge I ceased not to ronne alonge that coaste towardes the northe to see yf I coulde finde any gulfe w<sup>ch</sup> turned towardes the northwest, until I came to the heighte of 65. degrees of our pole. Beinge there I sawe that the coaste turned towardes the easte and beinge oute of hope to finde any straite, I turned backe againe to searche out the said coaste towardes the equinoctiall w<sup>th</sup> in-

<sup>1</sup> Report.

tention alwayes to finde some passage to the Indies, and in followinge this coaste I sailed as farr as that parte w<sup>ch</sup> at this present they call fflorida: and nowe my victualls failinge and fallinge shorte I sailed no further, but lefte the coaste there and sailed into England, where I was no sooner arryved, but I founde greate troubles of the people that were upp in armes, by reason of the warres in Scotland: whereby the voyadge to those partes was laide aside for that time, and had in no further consideration: Upon this Relation Monsieur Popiliniere being a Frencheman in his seconde booke *Des Trois Mondes* inferreth these speaches: This then was that Gabote w<sup>ch</sup> firste discovered Florida for the kinge of England, so that the englishemen have more righte thereunto then the Spaniardes, yf to have righte unto a Contrie it sufficeth to have firste seene and discovered the same: Howbeit Gabota did more then see the contrie, for he wente on lande on divers places, tooke possession of the same accordinge to his patente w<sup>ch</sup> was graunted to his father John Gabot, to Lewes, himselfe, and Sancius his brethren, beinge to be sene in the Rolles and extant in printe,<sup>1</sup> and moreover he broughte home three of the Savages of the Indies as Fabian in his auncient Chronicle<sup>2</sup> dothe write declaringe their apparell, feedinge, and other manners, which he saieth he observed himselfe in the Courte at Westminster, where he sawe twoo of them two yeres after they were broughte into England in englishe apparell: Nay that w<sup>ch</sup> is more Gabota discovered this longe tracte of the firme lande twoo yeres before Columbus ever sawe any parte of the continente thereof. ffor the firste parte of the firme Land called Paria and Bocca di Dragone that is to say the Dragons mouthe, lienge to the southe of the Iland of Hispaniola was discovered by him in his thirde voyadge, w<sup>ch</sup> as Peter Martir de Angleria w<sup>ch</sup> was one of the Councell of the west Indies wryteth, was in the yere 1498, w<sup>ch</sup> is confirmed by ferdinandus Columbus his owne sonne w<sup>ch</sup> was with his father in the voyadge as Oviedo confesseth libr. 19. cap. 1., and wrote a journall of that voyadge, shewing in the 67. chapiter of his historie that his father firste sawe the firme lande the firste of

*The reason why the discovery was lefte of in Kinge Henry the Seaventh's tyme.*

<sup>1</sup> In the *Divers Voyages*.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle of Fabian*, 1559.

Auguste in the yere 1498. But Gabote made his greate discoverie in the yere 1496. as he testifieth in his relation above mentioned. And the day of the moneth is also added in his owne mappe w<sup>ch</sup> is yn the Queenes privie gallorie at Westminster, the cotype whereof was sett oute by M<sup>r</sup>. Clemente Adams and is in many marchantes houses in London:<sup>1</sup> In w<sup>ch</sup> mappe<sup>2</sup> in the Chapter of Newfoundelande there in Latyn is put downe besides the yere of our Lorde even the very day, w<sup>ch</sup> was the day of St. John Baptiste, and the firste lande w<sup>ch</sup> they sawe, they called prima visa or prima vista, and M<sup>r</sup>. Roberte Thorne in his discourse to doctor Ley kinge Henry the eightes embassador to Charles the Empero<sup>r</sup>, affirmeth that his father and one Hughe Elliott of Bristoll were the firste persons that descried the lande. This case is so clere that the Spaniardes themselves though full sore againste their willes are constrained to yelde unto us therein: ffor ffranciscus Lopez de Gomera in the 4. Chapter of his seconde booke of his *generall historie of the Indies* confesseth that Sebastian was the firste discoverer of all the coaste of the west Indies from 58. degrees of northerly latitude to the heighte of 38. degrees towards the equinoctiall: He whiche broughte moste certeine newes of the Contrie and people of Baccalaos, saieth Gomera, was Sebastian Gabot a venesian, w<sup>ch</sup> rigged up ij. shippes at the coste of kinge Henry the seaventh of England havinge greate desire to traficque for the spices as the portingales did: he caried w<sup>th</sup> him CCC. men and tooke the way towards Island from beyonde the Cape of Labrador untill he founde himselfe in 58. degrees and better. He made relation that in the moneth of July it was so colde and the Ice so greate, that he durste not passe any further, that the daies were very longe in a manner w<sup>th</sup>oute any nighte, and for that shorte nighte that they had it was very clere. Gabot feelinge the colde turned towards the west, refreshinge himselfe at Baccalaos: and afterwarde he sailed alonge the coaste unto 38. degrees, and from thence he shaped his course to returne into England: Moreover this ffraunces Lopez de Gomera acknow-

<sup>1</sup> Clement Adams did other cartographical work. His version of Cabot's map appears to have been a woodcut.

<sup>2</sup> I.e. in Cabot's original.

ledgeth in his firste booke and xxj<sup>th</sup>. Chapter of his *generall historie of the Indies* that Columbus on his thirde voyadge, sett oute from St. Lucar of Barameda in Spaine in the ende of May, Anno 1497. In w<sup>ch</sup> thirde voyadge at lengthe after many greate dangers by the way he arryved in the firme lande of the Indies towardses the province called Paria, w<sup>ch</sup> all the Spanishe authors confesse to have bene the firste of the continent that was discovered for the kinges of Spaine. So to conclude whether wee beleve the Testimonie of Peter Martir and fferdinandus Columbus w<sup>ch</sup> affirme that Christopher Columbus discovered the firme firste in Anno 1498. a greate and large tracte of the continente of the Indies was discovered by Gabote and the englishe above twoo yeres before, To witt in the yere 1496 in the monethes of June and July: Or whether wee be contente to yelde to Gomera w<sup>ch</sup> saieth Columbus sett furthe of the discovery of the firme lande 1497, yet wee of England are the firste discoverers of the continent above a yere and more before them: To witt 1496. or as Clement Adams saith 1494. in the Chapter of Gabbotts mapp *de terra nova*,<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> is above three yeres before the Spaniarde or any other for the kinges of Spaine had any sighte of any parte of the firme lande of the Indies. At leaste wise by Gomera his owne confession from 58. degrees of northerly latitude to 38. towardses the equinoctiall wee have beste righte and Title of any Christian. As for the discovery of John Ponce de Leon<sup>2</sup> beinge in Anno 1512. yt cannot be prejudiciall to our Title as beinge made sixtene yeres after Gabotes voyadge.

### Cap. 19.

An aunswer to the Bull of the Donacion of all the west Indies graunted to the kinges of Spaine by Pope Alexander the vi<sup>th</sup> whoe was himselfe a spaniarde borne.

Whereas ffraunces Lopez de Gomera, in the 19. Chapter of his firste booke of his *generall historie of the Indies* putteth downe that Pope Alexander the vi<sup>th</sup> of his proper will and of his

<sup>1</sup> For a discussion of this date see J. A. Williamson, *loc. cit.* p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Of Florida.

owne mere motion w<sup>th</sup> the consente of his Cardinalls gave of his free grace to the kinges of Spaine all the Iles and firme landes w<sup>ch</sup> they shoulde discover towards the west, and therew<sup>th</sup>all alledged the Bull itselfe: I aunswer that no Pope had any lawfull auctoritie to give any such donation at all: ffor prooffe whereof I say that if he were no more then Christes vycar, as Gomera calleth him in that place, then he must nedes graunte that the vicar is no greater then his M<sup>r</sup>. Nowe our saviour Christe beinge requested and intreated to make a lawfull devision of inheritaunce betwene one and his brother, refused to do yt, sayenge *Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos?* Whoe made me a judge betwene you? What meaneth then the Pope not beinge spoken to nor entreated of his owne proper will and of his owne mere motion to meddle in those matters that Christe in no wise, no not beinge thereunto instantly requested woulde not have to deale in? Againe oure saviour Christe confessed openly to Pilate that his kingdome was not of this worlde, Why then doth the Pope that woulde be Christes servaunte take upon him the devision of so many kingdomes of the worlde? If he had but remembred that w<sup>ch</sup> he hath inserted in the ende of his owne Bull,<sup>1</sup> To witt that god is the disposer and distributer of kingdomes and Empires, he woulde never have taken upon him the devidinge of them with his line of partition from one ende of the heavens to the other. The historie of the poore boye whome god stirred upp to confounde and deride the Spaniardes and Portingales, when they were devidinge the worlde betwene themselves alone, is so well knownen as I nede not stand to repeate it:<sup>2</sup> But it is the Popes manner alwayes to meddle as in this matter, so in other thinges, where they have nothinge to doe, and to intrude themselves before they be called: They might rather call to mynde the counsell of the goodd Apostle, who tolde godly Tymothe the Bisshoppe of Ephesus, that no man that warreth intangleth himself w<sup>th</sup> the affaires of this presente life, because he woulde please him that hath chosen him to be a souldier, and then they woulde learne to kepe themselves w<sup>th</sup>in the lymites of that vocation and ecclesiasticall function where-

<sup>1</sup> The Bull was printed by Richard Eden in his *Decades*, 1555.

<sup>2</sup> As told by Gomara; it is also in Eden. See *infra*, p. 306.

unto they are called: which ecclesiasticall function hath nothinge to doe w<sup>th</sup> absolute donation and devidinge of mere Temporalties and earthly kingdomes: St. Chrisostome in his dialogue *de dignitate sacerdotali* saieth that the mynisterie is a chardge geuen by God to teache withoute armes or force, and that the same is no power to give or to take kingdomes nor to make lawes for the politique governemente. St. Hillary writes as moche to the Empero<sup>r</sup> Constantine againste Auxentius Bisshoppe of Milan: Our saviour Christe himselfe saieth to his disciples that while they were in the worlde they shoulde be broughte before kinges and polittique magistrates for his names sake. So then they shoulde not be Judges and magistrates themselves especially in the devisions of kingdomes, and to leave all spirituall men an example, he paid tribute and toll for himselfe and Peter, and submitted himselfe and his Apostles under the civill magistrate and politique governemente: yet the Pope whoe saieth he is Peters successor will be a disposer of civill causes and temporall domynions: The Apostle saieth Romaines the 13. Let every soule be submitted unto the higher powers: Nowe if the Popes will not beleve the worde of god w<sup>th</sup>oute the exposition of the fathers of the Church, at leaste let them beleve St. Chrisostome and give eare to that w<sup>ch</sup> he hath written upon this place: That these thinges be commaunded to all men saieth he bothe to prestes and monckes, and not onely to secular or laymen the Apostle declareth even in the very begynnyng when he saieth in this manner: Let every soule be subjecte unto their higher powers, thoughe thou were an Apostle, thoughe thou were an Evangeliste, thoughe thou were a prophet, or thoughe thou were any other whatsoever. ffor obedience dothe nothinge hinder godlines: But the Popes woulde prove that they may give and bestowe kingdomes upon whome they please, by Samuels example that annointed David and deposed Saul: of Elyas that annoynted Hazaell kinge of Siria in steade of Benhadad, and Jehu kinge of Israell in steade of Jehoram; as also by the example of Jehoida the highe preste that put the Queene Athalia to deathe, and placed Joas the younge sonne of Ochosias in the kingdome.

All those examples make nothinge at all in the worlde for

them: for neither Samuell, nor Elias, nor Elizeus did any thinge in that matter w<sup>th</sup>oute an expresse commaundement and all circumstances from the mouthe of God himselfe, as appereth moste evidently by their severall histories in the Bible: Samuell also did his commission full sore againste his will, and Elias, and Elizeus w<sup>th</sup> greate feare of their lyves: As for Athalia she was an usurper and had cruelly murdered as many of the lawfull inheritours of the kingdome as she coulede possibly lay handes on, and therefore Jehoiada the highe preste not of his owne absolute auctoritie, but by the helpe of the kinges officers and joyfull consente of all the people caused her moste justely to be deposed and put to deathe. He was also uncle to the younge kinge by mariage of his wife Jehosheba w<sup>ch</sup> was sister to Ahasia the father of the younge kinge, and therefore bounde in conscience and affinitie to helpe him to his righte and succour him in his mynortie.

Nowe when the Popes have the like excellent spirites of prophecie, and the like chardges and expresse commaundementes from Gods owne mouthe in the behalfe of some one by name againste some one w<sup>ch</sup> God by name woulde have deposed, then they may ymitate them in pronouncinge unto them that God will rente their kingdomes from this or that kinge for his synnes. But none of the prophetts made Bulls or donations in their palaces under their handes and seales and dates, to bestowe many kingdomes w<sup>ch</sup> they never sawe nor knewe, nor what nor howe large they were, or to say the truthe whether they were extant *in rerum natura*, as the Pope hath done in gevinge all the west Indies to the kinges of Spaine: He shoulde firste have don as the prophetts dyd, that is he shoulde firste have gon himselfe and preached the worde of God to those Idolatrous kinges and their people, and then if they woulde not by any meanes have repented, he mighte have pronounced the severe and heavie judgemente of God againste them shewinge oute of the worde of God that one kingdome is translated from another for the sinnes of the Inhabitanes of the same, and that God in his justice woulde surely bringe some nation or other upon them to take vengeance of their synnes and wickednes. And thus moche not onely Popes but also any other godly and zealous Bisshoppe

or mynister may doo beinge called thereunto by God extraordinarily, or havinge the ordinarye warrante of his worde. Yea but the Popes can shewe goodd Recordes that they have deposed Emperors, y<sup>t</sup> they have translated Empires from one people to another, as that of the Easte unto the Germaines, and that they have taken kingdomes from one nation and geven them to another. In deede in some respectes they have done so: But how? They never gave that w<sup>ch</sup> was in their actuall possession yf by any meanes possible they mighte have kepte it themselves. It is an easie matter to cutt large thonges as wee say of other mens hides, and to be liberall of other mens goodds. Neither ys it any marvaile thoughe (as Gomera saieth) the Pope gave all the west Indies of his free grace to the kinge of Spaine, for they never coste him a peny: But he that will be in deede and truthe liberall, he muste give of his owne and not of other mens: ffor to take from one that w<sup>ch</sup> is his to give it to another to whom it is not due, ys plaine injurie and no liberalitie, thoughe the gifte were bestowed upon him that were in nede: ffor as one saieth *Eripere alteri fraudulenter quod alteri des misericorditer, injustitia quidem est et non eleemosyna*. To take from one fraudulently to give to an other mercifully is no almes nor charitie, but plaine iniquitie: The Pope shoulde rather have sent into the west Indies store of godly pastors of his owne coste freely, then to have geven them and their gooddes wrongfully to be eaten upp and devoured of such insatiable and gredy wolves: He should have remembred the worde of our savio<sup>r</sup> whoe saieth: *Beatius est dare quàm accipere*: It is a blessed thinge to give rather then to receive. The Popes say they gave Ireland to kinge Henry the seconde and his successors, and indeede they have don it in wordes: But when gave they y<sup>t</sup> unto him, forsoothe after he had faste footinge in it, and when Dermutius the King of Leynester had firste offred to make the kinge his heire: And for all their donation yf the kinge had not by his force more then by their gifte holpe himselfe the Popes donation had stode him in small stede: neither did the kinges of Ireland admitt and allowe of the Popes donation: If they had, they woulde never have rebelled so ofte againste the Crowne of England: To conclude this pointe thoughe wee confesse that the Popes have don this or



that, yet yt is no goodd argumente to say that they did it and therefore it is lawfull, unless they coulde shewe that they did it rightfully: *de facto constat, de jure non constat*. And they themselves are driven to confesse that their medlinge on this sorte w<sup>th</sup> kingdomes ys not directly but indirectly. But suche indirecte dealinge is warranted neither by lawe of God nor men.<sup>1</sup>

Nowe to the donation it selfe wee are firste to consider whoe it was that was the author thereof, secondly unto whome it was made, thirdly what were the causes and inducementes that moved the Pope thereunto, fourthly the fourme and manner of donation, fyftly the inhibition of all other christian Princes, and the penaltie of all them that shoulde doo the contrarye: Lastly the recompence of the kinges of Spaine to the sea of Rome for so greate a gifte.

1. Touchinge the firste the Author hereof was Pope Alexander the vj<sup>th</sup>. whoe as Platina, and Onuphrius and Bale doo write was himselfe a Spaniarde and borne in Valencia of the familie called Burgia, and therefore no marvell thoughte he were ledd by parcialitie to favour the spanishe nation, thoughte yt were to the prejudice and dommage of all others. Whiche foule faulte of his may hereby appere, that havinge in all the tyme of his Popedom created sixe and thirtie Cardinales of those xxx<sup>x</sup><sup>tie</sup>vj. he made xvij. to witt the one halfe spaniardes as Bale dothe testifie<sup>2</sup> writinge of his life: Nowe let any man be judge whether that were extreame parcialitie and ambition to make Spaine equal in that pointe w<sup>th</sup> all the rest of Christendome: No marvaile therefore thoughte as in this, so in his donacion he was beyonde all reason caried away w<sup>th</sup> blynde affection to his nation, w<sup>ch</sup> faulte of his had bene more to be borne w<sup>th</sup>all yf it had bene in a private or small matter: But in this so generall and common cause, yt cannot choose but be altogether intollerable: If any man liste to see this man painted oute farther in his colo<sup>rs</sup>, let him reade John Bale in his eighte Centurye where he shall finde so many of his badd partes as a man woulde thincke he coulde not be a fitt man to make a goodd and uprighte judge in so weightie a matter as this.

<sup>1</sup> This learnedly argued discourse is a reminder that Hakluyt was a student and professor of divinity.

<sup>2</sup> John Bale, *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*.

2. The persons to whome he made this donation were Ferdinando and Isabella Princes of Spaine, to whome and to their heires and successors for ever he confirmed the same excludinge all other Christian Princes: These Princes thoughte otherwise very vertuous and commendable, yet at the time of the makinge of this donacion were more unable then divers other kinges of Christendome to accomlishe and bringe the same to effecte, as beinge greatly ympoverished w<sup>th</sup> the warres of Granadoe so farr furthe that they were constrained to seke for helpe of kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. of England to subdue the Moores in their owne Contrie. Yea Queene Isabella was so poore and bare that she was faine to offer her owne Jewells to gage to borowe money to sett furthe Columbus in his firste voyadge, as it is to be seene in the 14. chapter of the historye of Ferdinandus Columbus his owne sonne. It is also well knowen that the Spaniardes for wante of people of their owne Contrie, have not bene able now, in the space of  $\text{xxxij}$ . yeres to inhabite a thirde or fourthe parte of those excedinge large and waste Contries w<sup>ch</sup> are as greate as all Europe and Africke.

3. The inducementes that moved his holines to graunt these unequall donations unto Spaine were firste (as he saieth) his singuler desire and care to have the Christian Relligion and Catholicque faithe exalted, and to be enlarged and spredd abroad throughoute the worlde especially in his daies, and that the salvation of soules shoulde be procured of every one, and that the barbarous nations shoulde be subdued and reduced to the faithe &c.

To this I aunswer that if he had ment as in deede he saieth he shoulde not have restrayned this so greate and generall a worke belonging to the duetie of all other Christian Princes unto the kinges of Spaine onely, as thoughte god had no servauntes but in Spaine. Or as thoughte other Christian kinges then lyvinge had not as greate zeale and meanes to advaunce gods glory as they. Or howe mente he that every one shoulde put their helpinge hande to this worke, when he defended all other Christian princes, in paine of his heavie curse and excommunicatyon to meddle in this action, or to employe their subjectes thoughte yt were to the conversion of thinhabitauntes in those partes. And

whereas to colo<sup>r</sup> this his donacion he addeth that the kinges of Spaine had bene at greate chardges in that discoverie, in respecte whereof he was induced to deale so franckly w<sup>th</sup> them, yt is evident that the Bull was graunted in the yere 1493. the iiij<sup>th</sup>. of the moneth of May at what time Columbus had made but one voyadge, wherein he was furnished onely w<sup>th</sup> one small shippe and twoo little Caravells, and had in all his Companie but foure score and tenne men, and the whole voyadge stode the kinge of Spaine in 2500. Crownes only. So these 2500. Crownes were the greate chardges that the Pope speaketh of that induced him to graunte so large a donacion, for that was the uttermoste that Columbus desired, as is to be redd in the 14. Chapter of his owne sonnes historie: Moreover where the Pope confesseth he was informed before the donation of his Bull, That the kinges of Spaine had purposed by the aide of God to subdue and reduce unto the faithe all those landes and Ilandes w<sup>th</sup> their inhabitantes whiche Columbus had founde in his firste discovery, in commendinge highly of this their intention, he semeth to confesse that they mighte have pursued that godly action very lawfully w<sup>th</sup>oute makinge of him privy to their enterprize, w<sup>ch</sup> they did not in their firste sendinge furthe of Columbus: And w<sup>th</sup> what righte he builded and lefte men in Hispaniola at the firste before the Popes donation, w<sup>th</sup> the selfe same righte he mighte have subdued all that he shoulde afterwarde discover. So then the Popes gifte was of no more force, then of that w<sup>ch</sup> they mighte have chalenged by their former righte and interest of discoverie: and as for their former zeale and resolucion to publishe the christian faithe in those quarters w<sup>ch</sup> the Pope confesseth to have bene in them before his donation, whoe seeth not that he stirres them uppe to nothinge but to that w<sup>ch</sup> he acknowledgeth to have bene in them already, and so he did nothinge but *actum agere*. Againe in that he saieth that in no other respecte but moved onely by his mere and francke liberaltie, *And for certaine secrete causes* he gave unto them all the Ilandes and firme landes w<sup>ch</sup> already have bene founde and w<sup>ch</sup> shoulde afterwarde be founde, w<sup>ch</sup> were then discovered or afterwarde to be discovered, towardes the west and the southe<sup>r</sup>, drawinge a straighthe

<sup>x</sup> It seems clear that the original intention of the Bull was to donate

line from the Pole articke to the Pole antarticke, whether the ilandes or firme landes founde or to be founde were towardses the Indies or towardses any other quarter, intendinge nevertheles that this line be distant an hundred leagues towardses the west and the southe from the Iles w<sup>ch</sup> are commonly called the Azores, or those of Cape Verd: To this wee aunswer that here wee are firste to consider that yt was no marvell that his holines beinge a Spaniarde borne sett aparte all other respectes of justice and equitie and of his mere motion and francke liberalitie was ready to raise and advaunce his owne nation w<sup>th</sup> doinge secrete wronge and injurie as moche as in him laye and more unto all other Princes of Christendome: ffor what els can those wordes importe that he did it also for certen secrete causes, but give us juste cause to suspect that there wanted uprighte indifferent and sincere dealinges? And surely if he had ment uprightly, he woulde have delte more plainely, for truthe seketh no secrete corners. But if you will have me to reveale those secrete causes, to say as the thinge was, they were nothinge else - but the feare and jelousie that he had that kinge Henry the vij<sup>th</sup>. of England withe whome Bartholmewe Columbus had bene to deale in this enterprice and even aboute this time had concluded w<sup>th</sup> the kinge upon all pointes and articles, whoe even now was readie to sende him into Spaine to call his brother Christopher into England, shoulde put a foote into this action, w<sup>ch</sup> if he had don, he shoulde bothe have share w<sup>th</sup> the Spaniardes in the profitt, and greatly ecllips their hono<sup>r</sup> and glorie. Also he coulde not choose but be privie to the longe conference that Christopher Columbus had before time w<sup>th</sup> the kinge of Portingale and offer w<sup>ch</sup> he made firste of all to the said kinge of this discovery, whoe thoughe at the firste delte doubly w<sup>th</sup> Columbus, and sent other to finde oute that thinge which Columbus offred, yet they missinge of their purpose, the kinge of Portingale woulde have employed Columbus and delte effectually w<sup>th</sup> him to that ende, but he conceavinge a greate displeasure againste the kinge and his nation for his secrete seekinge to defraude him of his hono<sup>r</sup> and benefite of his offer, stole prively oute of his Realme into Castile. But the Pope fearinge that either the kinge of Portingale mighte be reconciled

to Columbus, or that he mighte be drawn into England by interposing of his usurped auctoritie, thoughte secretly by his unlawfull division to defraude England and Portingale of that benefite: Loe, these were indeede those secrete causes sodenly w<sup>th</sup>oute makinge the other kinges privie, to make his generall and universall donation of all the west Indies to the kinges of Spaine, by drawinge a lyne of partition from one Pole unto another passinge a hundred leagues westwarde of the Iles of Azores, w<sup>ch</sup> division howe God caused to be deryded by the mouthe of a poor simple childe, ffraunces Lopes de Gomera one of the Spaniardes owne Historiographers dothe specially note in manner followinge: Before I finishe this Chapter (saieth he) I will recite to recreate the Reader that w<sup>ch</sup> happened upon this partition to the Portingales: As ffraunces de Melo, Diego Lopes of Sequeria and others came to this assembly and passed the River by Quidiana a little Infant that kepthe his mothers clothes w<sup>ch</sup> she had washt and honge abroade to drye, demaunded of them whither they were those that shoulde come to devide the worlde w<sup>th</sup> the Empero<sup>r</sup>? and as they aunswered yea, he tooke up his shirte behinde and shewed them his buttocks, sayenge unto them, Drawe your Lyne throughe the middest of this place: This saieth the Author was published in contempte all abroade bothe in the towne of Badayos and also in the assemblye of these Committies. The Portingales were greatlye angrie therew<sup>th</sup>all, but the rest turned yt to a Jest and laughed yt oute. But what wiseman seeth not that God by that childe laughed them to scorne and made them ridiculous and their partition in the eyes of the worlde and in their owne consciences, and caused the childe to reprove them, even as the dombe beaste speakinge w<sup>th</sup> mans voyce, reproved the foolishnes of Balam the prophett.

4. The fourthe pointe w<sup>ch</sup> I purpose to touche is the forme and manner of the stile of the donation itselfe, after a large preface and connynge preamble, and that begynneth in this manner:

Wee therefore by the auctoritie of God almightie w<sup>ch</sup> is geven to us in the person of Sainte Peter, and w<sup>ch</sup> wee enjoye in this worlde as the vicar of Jhesus Christe, give unto you all the Ilandes and firme landes w<sup>th</sup> their seignories, Cities, Castells,

&c. In w<sup>ch</sup> repetition of his donation the seconde time for failinge he woulde shewe unto the world by what auctoritie and warrant he gave away from all the Indians their landes, Contries, seigniories, Cities, Castells, places, villages, rightes, jurisdictions, and all other appurtenaunces and thinges belonginge to the same to the kinges of Spaine onely, and to their heires and successors for ever. This usurped auctoritie as I have plainly confuted and denied in the begynnyng, so nowe in a worde or twoo I will shewe that God never gave unto the Popes any suche auctoritie. The chefest and greatest auctoritie that ever was given by Christe to Peter is mentioned in the 16. Chapiter of St<sup>h</sup> Mathewe where Christe saieth unto him, I will give unto thee the keyes of the kingdome of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte binde in earthe, shalbe bounde in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalte loose in earthe shalbe loosed in heaven: St. Hierome expoundinge of this place saieth that the Priestes or Bishshoppes duetie and auctoritie of the keyes, to binde or loose, is to knowe and declare by the holy scripture and by the judgements of the Catholicque Church, when and whoe he is that hath offended againste the will of god, and whoe beinge once a Christian, is fallen from the societie, or gone astraye oute of the pathe and waye of the Church: These are the trewe keyes and twoo swordes w<sup>ch</sup> God hath put into prestes handes: And Peter Lombarde the M<sup>r</sup> of the Sentences one of their owne Doctors is of St. Hieromes opinion. And what auctoritie in the place above recited Christe comitted unto Peter, the same gave he also unto all the rest of his Apostles, John 20. vers. 21. sayenge to them all, Whoesoever synnes yee remitte they are remitted unto them, and whoesoever synnes yee retaine, they are retained. But that either Peter or any of the Apostles did teache or affirme that they had auctoritie to give awaye kingdomes of heathen Princes to those that were so farr from havinge any interest in them, that they knewe not whether there were any suche Contries in the worlde or noe, I never reade nor hearde, nor any mane else as I verely beleve: W<sup>ch</sup> moste unjuste and wrongfull dealinge of the Pope was notably confuted by Atabalipa beinge an Infidell: ffor after ffryer Vincent of Valverde of the companie and traine of Pizar had made an oration to him,

*Matth: 16.*

the somme whereof was that he shoulde become a Christyan and that he shoulde obey the Pope and the Emperour to whome the Pope had geven his kingdome: Atabalipa beinge greatly insensed replied that seeinge he was nowe free he woulde not become tributarye, nor thincke that there was any greater Lorde then himselfe, but that he was willinge to be the Empero<sup>rs</sup> frende and to have his acquaintaunce, for that he muste nedes be some greate Lorde that sente so many armies abroad into the worlde: He aunswered moreover that he woulde not in any wise obey the Pope seinge he gave away that w<sup>ch</sup> belonged to another, moche lesse that he woulde leave his kingdome that came unto him by inheritaunce to one w<sup>ch</sup> he had never seene in his life. And whereas ffryer Vincent beinge displeased at his reple was gladd to seeke any waye to wreake his anger upon him, in somoche as when Atabalipa lett his portesse<sup>1</sup> fall to the grounde, he was so testye, that he sett Pisar and his souldiers forwardes cryenge, vengeaunce Christians vengeaunce, give the chardge upon them, whereby many Indians w<sup>th</sup>oute resistaunce or any stroke stricken on their partes were moste pitefully mured and massacred, and Atabalipa himselfe taken, and afterwarde trecherously put to deathe: This ffrier himselfe by gods juste judgemente was afterwarde beaten to deathe w<sup>th</sup> clubbes by the Inhabitantes of Puna as he fledd from Don Diego de Almagre, as ffraunces Lopes de Gomera precisely and of purpose noteth libro. 5. cap. 85. of his *generall historie of the Indies*, and besides him all the reste of the chefe that were the executioners of his rashe counsell and of the Popes donation came to moste wretched and unfortunate endes, as the aforesaide Author there setteth downe in twoo severall Chapters of considerations as he calleth them. Moreover since the fourme of the donation ronnet not absolutely but w<sup>th</sup> this condition and chardge moste straightly enjoyned, viz., That the kinges of Spaine shoulde sende thither sober and godly men, and cause the Inhabitantes of those Contries discovered or to be discovered to be instructed in the catholique faithe, and noseled<sup>2</sup> in goodd manners, and that they shoulde carefully applye themselves thereunto: Wee aunswer that these conditions have bene

<sup>1</sup> Breviary (O.E.D.).

<sup>2</sup> Instructed.

wonderfully neglected, and that neither the people have bene carefully instructed in relligion nor manners: and consequently that the conditions beinge not perfourmed the donation oughte of righte to be voide: ffor the kinges of Spaine have sent suche helhoundes and wolves thither as have not converted but almoste quite subverted them, and have rooted oute above fiftene millions of reasonable creatures as Bartholmewe de Casas the Bisshoppe of Chiapa in the west Indies, a Spaniarde borne dothe write at large in a whole volume of that argumente. And Gonsalvo de Oviedo another of their owne historiographers and Capitaine of the Castle of Sancto Domingo in Hispaniola affirmeth the like. ffor there hath Spaniardes come into these contries, saith he, w<sup>ch</sup> havinge lefte their consciences and all feare of God and men behinde them, have plaied the partes not of men but of dragons and infidells, and havinge no respecte of humanitie, have bene the cause that many Indians that peradventure mighte have bene converted and saved, are deade by divers and sondrie kindes of deathes. And althoughe those people had not bene converted, yet if they had bene lett to live, they mighte have bene profitable to your Ma<sup>tie</sup> and an aide unto the Christians, and certaine partes of the Lande shoulde not wholly have bene disinhabited, w<sup>ch</sup> by this occasion are altogether in a manner dispeopled. And they that have bene the cause of suche destruction call this contrie thus dispeopled and wasted, the Contrie conquered and pacified. But I call it quoth Gonsalvo the contrie w<sup>ch</sup> is destroyed and ruyned: yea so farr have they bene of from drawinge the Indians to the likinge of Christianitie and true Relligion, that the sentence of the Apostle may moste truly be verified of them, whoe saith, The name of God is blasphemed amonge the Gentiles throughe you. ffor prooffe whereof you shall not nede to reade but that w<sup>ch</sup> Peter<sup>1</sup> Benzo of Milan hath written whoe remayned in these Indies and served in the warres w<sup>th</sup> the Spaniardes againste the Indians for the space of fourtene yeres: This Benzo saith that the Indians not havinge studied Logicke concluded very pertinently and categorically that the Spaniardes w<sup>ch</sup> spoiled their Contrie, were more dangerous then wilde beastes, more furious then Lyons, more fearefull and

<sup>1</sup> Thus for *Girolamo*.



terrible then fire and water, or any thinge that is moste outrageous in the worlde. Some also called them the fome of the sea, others gave them names of the beastes w<sup>ch</sup> are moste cruell and lyvinge of praye w<sup>ch</sup> they have in their Contrie: There were some likewise that called them Tuira, as one would say, the Devills goodd grace.

Those thinges beinge thus, whoe seeth not that the Pope is frustrated of the ende w<sup>ch</sup> he intended in his donacion, and so the same oughte not to take effecte.

5. fiftly yf yt be true and that the Pope mente goodd earnest that all Empero<sup>rs</sup> and kinges w<sup>ch</sup> should sende their subjectes or others to discover w<sup>th</sup>oute the kinge of Spaines leave shoulde be excommunicated by him: Why did he not first excommunicate kinge Henry the seaventh for sendinge furthe Sebastian Gabota w<sup>th</sup> three hundred englishemen, whoe by Gomera his owne confession discovered from 58. degrees in the northe to 38. degrees towards the equinoctiall? Why did he not the like to kinge Henry the eighte for sendinge to discover westwarde in the xix<sup>th</sup>. yere of his reigne while he was yet in obedience to the Church of Rome? Why was he not offended and incensed againste Queene Mary whoe suffered her subjectes in the yere 1556. to seke oute by the northeaste the way to Cathaio and China,<sup>1</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> are bothe w<sup>th</sup>in the pretended lymites of his donation as John Gaetan and other Spaniardes doo write? Why did he not exercise his censures ecclesiasticall againste the kinge of ffraunce, ffraunces the firste for sendinge furthe Verarsanus twise or thrise, Iaques Cartier twise, and Robervall once towards the southwest and northwest? Why was not Henry the seconde of ffraunce excommunicated for sendinge Villegagnon to inhabite in Brasill under the Tropicke of Capricorne? Or Charles the ix<sup>th</sup>. for aidinge Ribault firste and after Ladoniere, and a thirde tyme Ribault to fortifie and inhabite in fflorida? Or why did he not thunder againste Emanuell kinge of Portingale for sufferinge Gasper Cortereal twise to seke to finde oute the northweste passage, and one of his brothers another time afterwarde? Or wherefore did he not openly rebuke the kinge of Denmarke for suffringe his subjecte John

<sup>1</sup> Steven Borough's voyage.

Scolno a dane in the yere 1500. to seke the straigthe by the northweste, of whome Gemma ffrisius and Hieromy Gerava a Spaniarde make mention?<sup>1</sup> Or what shoulde be the reason that all these kinges of England, ffraunce, Portingale and Denmarke beinge otherwise all at these times in obedience of the Church of Rome, shoulde w<sup>th</sup>oute consente as yt were disanull and never make accompte of this Bull of the Pope? w<sup>ch</sup> thinge doubtles they woulde never have don yf they had bene fully perswaded in their consciences, that if any prince or Empero<sup>r</sup> of what estate or condition soever shoulde attempte the contrary, as it is in the conclusion of the said Bull, he shoulde be assured to incurr the indignation of Almightye God, and of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Pawle: But now seinge all the kinges aforesaide sente all their subjectes to discover beyonde the Popes partition lyne w<sup>th</sup>oute the leave or permission of the Spaniarde, they seme w<sup>th</sup> one accorde to testifie unto the worlde, that they made no reconynge of the breache of that Bull as of an acte moste unjuste, moste unreasonable, and moste prejudiciall to all other Christian Princes of the worlde. Againe yt were small charitie in the Popes, to curse those princes that have bene or are willinge to employe their treasures and people in advauncinge the hono<sup>r</sup> and glory of god, and the lawfull enrichinge and benefite of their people. And whatsoever Pope shoulde excommunicate or curse any Christian prince for seekinge to reduce to the knowledge of god and to civill manners those infinite multitudes of Infidells and heathen people of the west Indies, w<sup>ch</sup> the Spaniardes in all this time have not so moche as discovered moche less subdued or converted, his curse woulde lighte upon his owne heade, and to those w<sup>ch</sup> he cursed undeservedly woulde be turned to a blessinge.

To be shorte thoughe Pope Alexander the vj<sup>th</sup>. by his unequall division hath so puffed upp and inflamed w<sup>th</sup> pride his moste ambitious and insatiable contrymen that they are growen to this high conceite of themselves that they shall shortly attaine to be Lordes and onely seigniors of all the earthe, insomuche as Gonsalvo de Oviedo sticketh not to write to Charles the

<sup>1</sup> The obscure voyage of John Scolvus is dated 1476 on Gemma Frisius' Globe. See E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, p. 81.

Empero<sup>r</sup> sayenge, God hath geuen you these Indies *accio che vostra majesta sia uniuersale et unico monarcha del mondo*, to the intente that your Ma<sup>tie</sup> shoulde be the universall and onely monarch of the world: yet god that sitteth in heaven laugheth them and their partitions to scorne, and he will abase and bringe downe their proude lookes, and humble ther faces to the duste, yea he will make them at his goodd time and pleasure to confesse that the earthe was not made for them onely, as he hath already shewed unto the Portingales, w<sup>ch</sup> not longe since takinge upon them to deuide the worlde w<sup>th</sup> lynes, doo nowe beholde the line of gods iuste judgements drawn over themselves and their owne kingdome and possessions: And nowe no doubtte many of them remember that the threateninge of the prophet hath taken holde upon them, whoe pronounceth an heauie woe againste all suche as spoile, because they themselves shall at length be spoiled.

6. finally to come to the sixte and laste pointe, yf you consider what recompence the kinges of Spaine have made to the Popes for this so greate a benefite bestowed upon them, you shall easely see and acknowledge w<sup>th</sup> me that they were either moste ungratefull or, w<sup>ch</sup> is moste likely, that they never thoughte that they helde the Indies as the Popes gifte unto them, or that their Title unto those Regions depended upon his francke almes or liberalitie: ffor if they had don soe, they could have done no lesse but have geuen him the presentation of all Archebisshopricks and Bisshopricks, and other greate ecclesiastical promotions in recompence of their former and large curtesie: Wherein they have don the flatt contrary, reservinge onely unto themselves the presentation and patronage of all the Archebisshopricks and Bisshopricks that they have erected in the west Indies: ffor as Gomera saieth in his 6. booke and 23. Chapiter of his *generall historie of the Indies*, The kinge of Spaine is patrone of all the Archebisshopricks, Byssshopricks, dignities, and Benefices of the west Indies, and so he onely appointeth and presenteth them, so that he is absolute lorde of the Indies.

This argueth that the kinges of Spaine never made any greate accompte of the Popes' donation, but onely to blinde the eyes of the worlde w<sup>th</sup> the sea of Rome; ffor doubtles if they had acknowledged their tenure to depende as I saied of the Popes

mere liberalitie, they woulde have don otherwise, and woulde have requited them farr otherwise then by excludinge them quite oute, and makinge themselves absolute Patrones of all ecclesiasticall dignities whatsoever.<sup>1</sup>

Cap. 20.

A brefe Collection of certaine reasons to induce her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the state to take in hande<sup>2</sup> the westerne voyadge and the plantinge there.

1. The soyle yeldeth and may be made to yelde all the severall commodities of Europe, and of all kingdomes domynions and Territories that England tradeth withe, that by trade of marchandize cometh into this Realme.

2. The passage thither and home is neither to longe nor to shorte, but easie and to be made twice in the yere.

3. The passage cutteth not nere the trade of any Prince, nor nere any of their contries or Territories and is a safe passage, and not easie to be annoyed by Prince or potentate whatsoever.

4. The passage is to be perfourmed at all times of the yere, and in that respecte passeth o<sup>r</sup> trades in the Levant seas w<sup>th</sup>in the straites of Juberalter, and the trades in the seas w<sup>th</sup>in the kinge of Denmarkes straite, and the trades to the portes of Norway and of Russia &c., for as in the southwest straite there is no passage in sommer by lacke of windes, so w<sup>th</sup>in the other places there is no passage in winter by yse and extreme colde.

5. And where England nowe for certen hundreth yeres last passed by the peculiar commoditie of wolles, and of later yeres by clothinge of the same, hath raised it selfe from meaner state to greater wealthe and moche higher hono<sup>r</sup>, mighte and power then before, to the equallinge of the princes of the same to the greatest potentates of this parte of the worlde: It cometh nowe so to passe that by the greate endevor of the increase of the trade of wolles in Spaine and in the west Indies nowe daily more

<sup>1</sup> This dissertation must have been aimed at the Catholic faction, for the Pope's Bull had no force among Protestants.

<sup>2</sup> The crux of the discourse; cf. *supra*, p. 38. The chapter is largely recapitulation.

and more multipliege, That the wolles of England and the clothe made of the same, will become base,<sup>1</sup> and every day more base then other, w<sup>ch</sup> prudently weyed, yt behoveth this Realme yf it meane not to returne to former olde meanes<sup>2</sup> and basenes, but to stande in present and late former hono<sup>r</sup> glorie and force, and not negligently and sleepingly to slyde into beggery, to foresee and to plante at Norumbega or some like place, were it not for any thing els but for the hope of the vent of our woll indraped,<sup>3</sup> the principall and in effecte the onely enrichinge contynueinge naturall commoditie of this Realme, And effectually pursueinge that course wee shall not onely finde on that tracte of lande, and especially in that firme northwarde (to whome warme clothe shalbe righte wellcome) an ample vente, but also shall from the northside of that firme finde oute knowen and unknowen Ilandes and domynions replenished w<sup>t</sup> people that may fully vent the aboundance of that our commoditie<sup>4</sup> that els will in fewe yeres waxe of none or of small valewe by forreine abundaunce &c., So as by this enterpryce wee shall shonne the ymmynent mischefe hanginge over our heades that els muste nedes fall upon the Realme w<sup>th</sup>out breache of peace or sworde drawn againste this Realme by any forreine state,<sup>5</sup> and not offer our auncient riches to scornfull neigbours at home nor sell the same in effecte for nothinge as wee shall shortly, if presently it be not provided for. The increase of the wolles of Spaine and America is of highe pollicie w<sup>th</sup> greate desire of our overthrowe indevoured, and the goodnes of the forren wolles our people will not enter into the consideration of, nor will not beleve oughte, they be so sotted w<sup>th</sup> opinion of their owne,<sup>6</sup> and yf it be not foresene and some such place of vent provided, farewell the goodd state of all degrees in this Realme.

6. This enterpryse may staye the spanishe kinge from flowinge over all the face of that waste firme of America, yf wee seate and plante there in time, in tyme I say, and wee by plant-

<sup>1</sup> Of less value.

<sup>2</sup> Meanness.

<sup>3</sup> Manufactured.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. Tartary and China by the N.W. Passage.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. economic disaster.

<sup>6</sup> The elder Hakluyt also hints at the blindness and conservatism of the English manufacturers and merchants, and their unwillingness to take adequate steps to meet foreign competition.

inge shall lett him from makinge more shorte and more safe returnes oute of the noble portes of the purposed places of our plantinge, then by any possibilitie he can from the parte of the firme that nowe his navies by ordinary courses come from, in this that there is no comparison betwene the portes of the coastes that the kinge of Spaine dothe nowe possesse and use, and the portes of the coastes that our nation is to possesse by plantinge at Norumbega, and on that tracte faste by more to the northe and northeaste,<sup>1</sup> and in that there is from thence a moche shorter course, and a course of more temperature, and a course that possesseth more contynuanee of ordinary windes then the present course of the spanishe Indian navies nowe dothe. And England possessinge the purposed place of plantinge, her Ma<sup>tie</sup> may by the benefete of the seate havinge wonne goodd and royall havens, have plentie of excellent trees for mastes, of goodly timber to builde shippes and to make greate navies, of pitche, tarr, hemepe, and all thinges incident for a navie royall, and that for no price and w<sup>th</sup>oute money or request. Howe easie a matter may yt be to this Realme swarminge at this day w<sup>th</sup> valiant youthe rustinge and hurtfull by lacke of employment, and havinge goodd makers of cable and of all sortes of cordage, and the best and moste connyng shipwrightes of the worlde to be Lordes of all those Sees, and to spoile Phillipps Indian navye, and to deprive him of yerely passage of his Treasure into Europe, and consequently to abate the pride of Spaine and of the supporter of the greate Antechriste of Rome, and to pull him downe in equallitie to his neighbour princes, and consequently to cutt of the common mischefes that comes to all Europe by the peculiar aboundance of his Indian Treasure, and this w<sup>th</sup>oute difficultie.

7. This voyadge albeit it may be accomplished by barke or smallest pytnesse for advise or for a necessitie, yet for the distaunce, for burden and gaine in trade, the marchant will not for profitts sake use it but by shippes of greate burden, so as this Réalme shall have by that meane shippes of greate burden and

<sup>1</sup> Norumbega was considerably to the north of Wingandacoa, afterwards Virginia, and it is probable that sections of Chapter 15, written after the return of Raleigh's 'two barks', were inserted after the completion of the rest of the Discourse.

of greate strengthe for the defence of this Realme, and for the defence of that newe seate, as nede shall require, and w<sup>th</sup>all greate increase of perfecte seamen, w<sup>ch</sup> greate Princes in time of warres wante, and w<sup>ch</sup> kinde of men are neither nourished in fewe daies nor in fewe yeres.

8. This newe navie of mightie newe stronge shippes so in trade to that Norumbega and to the coastes there, shall never be subjecte to arreste of any prince or potentate, as the navie of this Realme from time to time hath bene in the portes of thempire, in the portes of the base Contries, in Spaine, ffrance, Portingale &c., in the tymes of Charles the Empero<sup>r</sup>, ffrances the frenche kinge and others, but shall be alwayes free from that bitter mischeefe w<sup>th</sup>oute grefe or hazarde to the marchaunte, or to the state, and so alwaies readie at the commaundement of the prince, w<sup>th</sup> mariners, artillory, armor, and munition ready to offende and defende as shalbe required.

9. The greate masse of wealthe of the realme imbarqued in the marchantes shippes caried oute in this newe course, shall not lightly in so farr distant a course from the coaste of Europe be driven by windes and Tempestes into portes of any forren princes, as the spanishe shippes of late yeres have bene into our portes of the weste Contries &c. and so our marchantes in respecte of private state and of the Realme in respecte of a generall safetie from venture of losse, are by this voyadge oute of one greate mischeefe.

10. No forren commoditie that comes into England comes w<sup>th</sup>oute payment of custome once twise or thrise before it come into the Realme, and so all forren commodities become derer to the subjectes of this Realme, and by this course to Norumbega forren princes customes are avoided, and the forren commodities cheapely purchased, they become cheape to the subjectes of England to the common benefite of the people, and to the savinge of greate Treasure in the Realme, whereas nowe the Realme becomethe poore by the purchasing of forreine commodities in so greate a masse at so excessive prices.

11. At the firste traficque w<sup>th</sup> the people of those partes, the subjectes of this Realme for many yeres shall chaunge many cheape commodities of these partes, for thinges of highe valor

there not esteemed, and this to the greate enrichinge of the Realme, if common use faile not.

12. By the greate plentie of those Regions the marchantes and their factors shall lye there cheape, buye and repaire their shippes cheape, and shall returne at pleasure w<sup>th</sup>oute staye or restraunte of forreine Prince, whereas upon staies and restraints the marchaunte raiseth his chardge in sale over of his ware, and buyenge his wares cheape, he may mainteine trade w<sup>th</sup> smalle stocke and withoute takinge upp money upon interest,<sup>1</sup> and so he shalbe riche and not subjecte to many hazardes, but shalbe able to afforde the commodities for cheape prices to all subjectes of the Realme.

13. By makeinge of shippes and by preparinge of thinges for the same: By makeinge of Cables and Cordage, by plantinge of vines and olive trees, and by makeinge of wyne and oyle, by husbandrie and by thousandes of thinges there to be don, infinite numbers<sup>2</sup> of the english nation may be sett on worke to the unburdenynge of the Realme w<sup>th</sup> many that nowe lyve chardgeable to the state at home.

14. If the sea coste serve for makeinge of salte, and the Inland for wine, oiles, oranges, lymons, figges &c., and for makeinge of yron, all w<sup>ch</sup> w<sup>th</sup> moche more is hoped, w<sup>th</sup>oute sworde drawen, wee shall cutt the combe of the frenche, of the spanishe, of the portingale, and of enemies, and of doubtfull frendes to the abatinge of their wealthe and force, and to the greater savinge of the wealthe of the Realme.<sup>3</sup>

15. The substaunces servinge, wee may oute of those partes receave the masse of wrought wares that now wee receave out of ffraunce, fflaunders, Germanye &c. and so wee may daunte the pride of some enemies of this Realme, or at the leaste in parte purchase those wares, that nowe wee buye derely of the ffrenche and flemynge, better cheape, and in the ende for the parte that this Realme was wonte to receave dryve them out of trade to idlenes for the settinge of our people on worke.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* with small capital, and without borrowing from the bankers.

<sup>2</sup> Mass emigration was in Hakluyt's mind.

<sup>3</sup> The Hakluyts believed in economic pressure as more efficacious and more humane than warfare.



16. Wee shall by plantinge there enlarge the glory of the gospell and from England plante sincere relligion, and provide a safe and a sure place to receave people from all partes of the worlde that are forced to flee for the truthe of gods worde.<sup>1</sup>

17. If frontier warres there chaunce to aryse, and if thereupon wee shall fortifie, yt will occasion the trayninge upp of our youthe in the discipline of warr, and make a number fitt for the service of the warres and for the defence of our people there and at home.

18. The Spaniardes governe in the Indies w<sup>th</sup> all pride and tyranie; and like as when people of contrarie nature at the sea enter into Gallies, where men are tied as slaves, all yell and crye w<sup>th</sup> one voice *liberta, liberta*, as desirous of libertie and freedome, so no doubt whensoever the Queene of England, a prince of such clemencie, shall seate upon that firme of America, and shalbe reported throughoute all that tracte to use the naturall people there w<sup>th</sup> all humanitie, curtesie, and freedome, they will yelde themselves to her government and revolte cleane from the Spaniarde, and specially, when they shall understande that she hath a noble navie, and that she aboundeth w<sup>th</sup> a people moste valiaunte for theyr defence, and her Ma<sup>tie</sup> havinge Sr ffraunces Drake and other subjectes already in credite w<sup>th</sup> the Symerons, a people or greate multitude alreadye revolted from the spanishe governmente, she may w<sup>th</sup> them and a fewe hundrethes of this nation trayned upp in the late warres of ffraunce and fflaunders, bringe greate thinges to passe, and that w<sup>th</sup> greate ease:<sup>2</sup> and this broughte so aboute, her Ma<sup>tie</sup> and her subjectes may bothe enjoye the treasure of the mynes of golde and silver, and the whole trade and all the gaine of the trade of marchandize that nowe passeth thither by the Spaniardes onely hande of all the commodities of Europe, w<sup>ch</sup> trade of marchandize onely were of it selfe suffycient (w<sup>th</sup>oute the benefite of the rich myne) to inriche the subjectes, and by Customes to fill her Ma<sup>ties</sup> coffers to the full: and if it be highe pollicie to mayneteyne the poore people of this Realme in worke, I dare affirme that if the poore people of England were

<sup>1</sup> Protestant refugees.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt here refers to his project for seizing Magellan's Strait. See *supra*, p. 17.

five times so many as they be, yet all mighte be sett on worke in and by workinge lynnenn and suche other thinges of marchandize as the trade in the Indies dothe require.

19. The present shorte trades causeth the maryner to be cast of, and ofte to be idle and so by povertie to fall to piracie: But this course to Norumbega beinge longer and a contynuanee of themployment of the maryner dothe kepe the maryner from ydlenes and from necessitie, and so it cutteth of the principall actions of piracie, and the rather because no riche praye for them to take cometh directly in their course or any thing nere their course.

20. Many men of excellent wittes and of divers singuler giftes overthrowen by suertshippe,<sup>1</sup> by sea or by some folly of youthe, that are not able to live in England may there be raised againe,<sup>2</sup> and doo their Contrie goodd service: and many nedefull uses there may (to greate purpose) require the savinge of greate numbers that for trifles may otherwise be devoured by the gallowes.

21. Many souldiers and servito<sup>rs</sup> in the ende of the warres that mighte be hurtfull to this Realme, may there be unladen, to the common profite and quiet of this Realme, and to o<sup>r</sup> forreine benefite there as they may be employed.

22. The frye<sup>3</sup> of the wandringe beggars of England that growe upp ydly and hurtfull and burdenous to this Realme, may there be unladen, better bredd upp, and may people waste Contries to the home and forreine benefite, and to their owne more happy state.

23. If Englande crie oute and affirme that there is so many in all trades that one cannot live for another as in all places they doe, This Norumbega (yf it be thoughte so goodd) offreth the remedie.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> By becoming surety for a debt or for an accused person. Hakluyt may have had Michael Lok in mind.

<sup>2</sup> Here Hakluyt is prophetic. Thousands of men must have rehabilitated themselves in the Colonies.

<sup>3</sup> Children. The migration of orphan and destitute children to the Colonies has usually been very successful.

<sup>4</sup> This concludes the argument for territorial expansion. Chapter 21 is merely an appendix.

## Cap. 21.

A note of some thinges to be prepared for the voyadge, w<sup>ch</sup> is sett downe rather to drawe the takers of the voyadge in hande to the presente consideracion, then for any other reason, for that divers thinges require preparation longe before the voyadge, w<sup>th</sup>oute the which the voyadge is maymed.

## DEAD VICTUALL.

Hoggs fleshe barrellled and salted in greate quantitie.  
 Befe barrellled in lesse quantitie.  
 Stockfishe meale in barrells.  
 Oatemeale in barrells, nere cowched.  
 Ryse. Sallett oile. Barrellled butter.  
 Cheese. Hony in Barrells.  
 Currans. Raisons of the sonne.  
 Dried prunes. Olives in Barrells.  
 Beanes, dried on the killn.  
 Pease dried likewise.  
 Canary Wines. Hollocke.<sup>1</sup>  
 Sacks racked.<sup>2</sup>  
 Vinegar very stronge.  
 Aqua vitæ.  
 Syders of ffraunce, spaine, and England.  
 Bere brewed specially in speciall tyme.

VICTUALL BY ROOTES  
AND HERBES.

Turnep seede.  
 Passeneape Sede.  
 Radishe.  
 Cariott.  
 Naviewes.<sup>3</sup>  
 Garlicke.  
 Onyons.  
 Leekes.  
 Melons.  
 Pompions.  
 Cowcombers.  
 Cabage cole.  
 Parseley.  
 Lettis.  
 Endiffe.  
 Alexander.<sup>4</sup>  
 Oreg.<sup>5</sup>  
 Tyme.  
 Rosemary.  
 Mustard seede.  
 ffennell.  
 Anny seedes<sup>6</sup> newe and freshe to be sowen.

<sup>1</sup> Red Wine.<sup>2</sup> Drawn from the lees.<sup>3</sup> Rape-seed.<sup>4</sup> Horse-parsley.<sup>5</sup> Marjoram.<sup>6</sup> Aniseed. This list indicates the importance of vegetables and salads in an Elizabethan garden and dietary.

THE ENCREASE RENEWE Y<sup>E</sup> CONTINEWE OF VICTUALL AT THE  
PLANTINGE PLACES, AND MEN AND THINGES INCIDENT AND  
TENDINGE TO THE SAME.

Bores, Soves.

Conies bucke and dowe.

Doves male and female.

Cockes. Hennes.

Duckes male and female for lowe soiles.

Turkies male and female.

Wheat. Rye. Barley.

Bigge or burley bere.

Oates. Beanes.

Pease. ffacches.<sup>1</sup>

Three square graine.<sup>2</sup>

Suger cane planters w<sup>th</sup> the plantes.

Vyne planters.

Olyve planters.

Gardiners for herbes rootes, and for all earthe frutes.

Graffers for frute trees.

Hunters skilfull to kill wilde beasts for vittell.

Warryners to breede conies and to kill vermyne.

ffowlers.

Sea fisshers.

Freshwater fisshers.

Knytters of netts.

Butchers.

Salters and seasoners of vittell.

Saltemakers.

Cookes.

Bakers.

Brewers.

Greyhoundes to kill deere &c.

Mastives to kill heavie beastes of ravyne and for nighte  
watches.

Bloude houndes to recover hurte dere.

To sowe, to  
vittell by  
breade and  
drinke,  
&c.

<sup>1</sup> Vetches.

<sup>2</sup> Buckwheat.

## PROVISIONS TENDINGE TO FORCE.

Men experte in the arte of fortification.

Platformes<sup>1</sup> of many formes redied to carry w<sup>th</sup> you by advise of the best.

Capitaines of longe and of greate experience.

Souldiers well trayned in fflaunders to joyne w<sup>th</sup> the younger.

Harqubusshiers of skill.

Archers stronge bowmen.

Bowyers.

ffletchers.

Arrowheadmakers.

Bowstave preparers.

Glewmakers.

Morryce pikemakers<sup>2</sup> and of halbert staves.

Makers of spades and shovells for pyoners, trentchers, and fortmakers.

Makers of basketts to cary earthe to fortes and Rampiers.

Pioners and spademen for fortification.

Salte peter makers.

Gonne powder makers.

Targett<sup>3</sup> makers of hornes defensive againste Savages.

Oylethole<sup>4</sup> doublett makers defensive lighte and gentle to lye in.

Turners of Targetts of elme and of otheroughe woodds lighte.

Shippes, Pynesses, Barkes, Busses w<sup>th</sup> flatt botoms, furnished w<sup>th</sup> experte seamen.

Swifte boates and barges to passe by winde and oare covered with quilted canvas of defence againste shott from the shoare to perce Ryvers for discoverie, and to passe to and froe offensive and defensive againste savages devised by M<sup>r</sup> Bodenham of Spaine.<sup>5</sup>

Shipwrightes in some number to be employed on the Timber.

Oare makers, and makers of Cable and Cordage.

<sup>1</sup> For artillery.

<sup>2</sup> Pikes of Moorish type (O.E.D.).

<sup>3</sup> Light shields.

<sup>4</sup> Eyelet-hole, *i.e.* laced.

<sup>5</sup> Roger Bodenham; see *supra*, p. 8.

PROVISIONS INCIDENT TO THE FIRSTE TRAFICQUE AND TRADE OF  
MARCHANDIZE.

Grubbers and rooters upp of Cipres, Cedars, and of all other faire trees for to be employed in coffers deskes &c. for traficque.

Mattocks narrowe and longe of yron to that purpose.

Millwrightes to make milles for spedy and cheape sawinge of timber and boordes for trade and firste traficque of suertie.

Millwrightes for corne milles.

Sawyers for common use.

Carpinters for buildinges.

Joyners to cutt oute the boordes into chestes to be imbarqued for England.

Blacksmithes to many greate and nedefull uses.

Pitche makers.

Tarr makers.

Burners of asshes for the trade of sope asshes.

Cowpers for barrells to inclose those asshes.

Tallowchandlers to prepare the Tallowe to be incasked for England.

Waxechandlers to prepare waxe in like sorte.

Diers to seeke in that firme<sup>1</sup> that riche Cochinilio and other thinges for that trade.

Mynerall men.

ARTESANES SERVINGE OUR FIRSTE PLANTERS NOT IN TRAFICQUE  
BUT FOR BUILDINGES.

Brickmakers.

Tilemakers.

Lyme makers.

Bricklayers.

Tilers.

Thackers w<sup>th</sup> reede, russhes,  
broome or strawe.

Synkers of welles and finders  
of springes.<sup>2</sup>

Quarrellers to digge Tile.

Roughe Masons.

Carpinters.

Lathmakers.

<sup>1</sup> On that continent.

<sup>2</sup> Diviners.

ARTESANES SERVINGE OUR FIRSTE PLANTERS AND IN PARTE  
SERVINGE FOR TRAFICQUE.

Barbors.	Bottlemakers of London.
Launders.	Shoemakers. Coblers.
Tailors.	Tanners. White tawyers. <sup>2</sup>
Botchers.	Buffe skynne dressers.
Pailemakers.	Shamew <sup>3</sup> skynne dressers.
Burrachiomakers. <sup>1</sup>	

A PRESENT PROVISION FOR RAISINGE A NOTABLE TRADE FOR THE  
TIME TO COME.

The knitt wollen cappe of Toledo in Spaine called *bonetto rugio collarado* so infinitely solde to the Moores in Barbarie and Affricke, is to be prepared in London, Hereforde, and Rosse, and to be vented to the people, and may become a notable trade of gaine to the marchaunte, and a greate reliefe to oure poore people, and a sale of our woll and of our labour, and beinge suche a cappe that every particuler person will buye and may easelie compasse, the sale wilbe greate in shorte time, especially if our people weare them at their first arryvall there.<sup>4</sup>

THINGES FORGOTTEN MAY HERE BE NOTED AS THEY COME TO MYNDE  
AND AFTER BE PLACED W<sup>TH</sup> THE REST, AND AFTER THAT IN ALL  
BE REDUCED INTO THE BEST ORDER.

That there be appointed one or twoo preachers for the voyadge that God may be honoured, the people instructed, mutinies the better avoided, and obedience the better used, that the voyadge may have the better successe.

That the voyadge be furnished w<sup>th</sup> Bibles and w<sup>t</sup> bookes of service.

That the bookes of the discoveries and conquests of the easte Indies<sup>5</sup> be carried w<sup>t</sup> you.

<sup>1</sup> Makers of leather bottles for wine (Sp. *borracha*).

<sup>2</sup> Leather dressers.

<sup>3</sup> Chamois.

<sup>4</sup> The elder Hakluyt more than once spoke of these caps as a profitable line. He must have seen them made at Hereford (c.f. *supra*, p. 192).

<sup>5</sup> N. Lichefield's translation of Castanheda, published 1582.

That the bookes of the discoveries of the west Indies and the conquestes of the same<sup>1</sup> be also caried to kepe men occupied from worse cogitations, and to raise their myndes to courage and highe enterprizes and to make them lesse careles for the better shonnyng of common daungers in suche cases arisinge.

And because men are more apte to make themselves subjecte in obedience to prescribed lawes sett downe and signed by a prince, then to the changeable will of any Capitaine be he never so wise or temperate, never so free from desire of revenge, it is wished that it were learned oute what course bothe the Spaniardes and Portingales tooke in their discoveries for government, and that the same were delivered to learned men, that had perused most of the lawes of thempire and of other princes Lawes, and that thereupon some speciall orders fitt for voyadges and begynnnynges, mighte upon deliberation be sett downe and allowed by the Q. moste excellent majestie and her wise counsell and faire ingrossed mighte in a Table be sett before the eyes of suche as goe in the voyage, that no man poonished or executed may justly complaine of manifeste and open wronge offred.<sup>2</sup>

That some phisition be provided to minister by counsell and by phisicke to kepe and preserve from sicknes, or by skill to cure suche, as fall into disease and distemperature.

A Surgeon to lett bloude and for such as may chaunce by warres or otherwise to be hurte is more nedefull for the voyage.

An Apothecarye to serve the phisition is requisite, and the phisition dienge, he may chaunce (well chosen) to stande in steede of the one and thother, and to sende into the Realme by seede and roote herbes and plantes of rare excellencie.

If suche plentie of honye be in these Regions as is said, yt were to goodd purpose to cary in the voyage, suche of the servauntes of the Russia Companie as have the skill to make the drinke called meth,<sup>3</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> they use in Russia and Poland, and nerer as in North Wales for their wine, and, if you cannot cary any suche,

<sup>1</sup> The translations by Thomas Nicholas (1578 and 1581) and Willes' *History of Travayle* are no doubt referred to.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt may have had the Doughty affair in mind.

<sup>3</sup> Mead, metheglin.



to cary the order of the making of yt in writinge that it may be made for a nede.

And before many things this one thinge is to be called as yt were w<sup>th</sup> spede to mynde, that the prisons and corners of London are full of decayed marchantes overthrowen by losse at sea, by usuerers, suertishippe and by sondry other suche meanes, and dare or cannott for their debtes shewe their faces,<sup>1</sup> and in truthe many excellent giftes be in many of these men, and their goodd giftes are not ymployed to any manner of use, nor are not like of themselves to procure libertie to employe themselves. But are w<sup>th</sup>oute some speciall meane used to starve by wante, or to shorten their tymes by thoughte,<sup>2</sup> and for that these men, schooled in the house of adversitie, are drawen to a degree higher in excellencye, and may be employed to greate uses in this purposed voyadge, yt were to greate purpose to use meanes by auctoritie for suche as maliciously, wrongfully or for triflinge causes are deteyned, and to take of them and of others that hide their heades and to employe them, for so they may be relieved and the enterprize furthered in many respectes.

*A moste  
nedeful Note.*

And in choice of all Artesanes for the voyadge this general rule were goodd to be observed that no man be chosen that is knownen to be a papiste for the speciall inclynation they have of favour to the kinge of Spaine.

That also of those Artesanes w<sup>ch</sup> are protestantes, that where you may have chaunge and choice; that suche as be moste stronge and lusty men be chosen, and suche as can best handle his Bowe or his harquebushe; for the more goodd giftes that the goers in the voyadge have, the more ys the voyadge benefited. And therefore (many goinge) yf every mans giftes and goodd qualities be entred into a Booke before they be receaved, they may be employed upon any necessitie in the voyadge in this or in that, according as occasion of nede shall require.<sup>3</sup>

#### FINIS

<sup>1</sup> Imprisonment for debt was a fate that overtook men of the highest standing, often through no fault of their own.

<sup>2</sup> Anxiety.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt's planning was admirable, but if settlers are to be carefully selected and a balanced number of each trade and profession secured, time and a large capital are necessary.



THE RECTORY, WETHERINGSETT  
*From a photograph by the Rev. W. W. Lillie.*



## Document 47

### PAMPHLET FOR THE VIRGINIA ENTERPRISE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1585

INDUCEMENTS TO THE LIKING OF THE VOYAGE  
intended towards Virginia in 40. and 42. degrees of latitude,  
written 1585. by M. RICHARD HAKLUYT the elder, sometime  
student of the Middle Temple

1 The glory of God by planting of religion among those  
infidels.

2 The increase of the force of the Christians.

3 The possibilitie of the enlarging of the dominions of the  
Queenes most excellent Maiestie, and consequently of her  
honour, revenues, and of her power by this enterprise.

4 An ample vent in time to come of the Woollen clothes of  
England, especially those of the coursèst sorts, to the mainten-  
ance of our poore, that els sterue or become burdensome to the  
realme: and vent also of sundry our commodities upon the tract  
of that firme land, and possibly in other regions from the  
Northerne side of that maine.<sup>1</sup>

5 A great possibilitie of further discoveries of other regions  
from the North part of the same land by sea, and of unspeakable  
honor and benefit that may rise upon the same, by the trades to  
ensue in Iapan, China, and Cathay, &c.

6 By retorne thence, this realme shall receive (by reason of  
the situation of the climate, and by reason of the excellent soile)  
Oade, Oile, Wines, Hops, Salt, and most or all the commodities  
that we receive from the best parts of Europe, and we shall  
receive the same better cheape, than now we receive them, as we  
may use the matter.

<sup>1</sup> Ortelius' World Map of 1564 (used by Gilbert) suggested that,  
travelling north from Norumbega (see Plate V) the north coast of America  
would be reached in 50° N. lat., whence easy routes would lie to the east of  
Asia.

7 Receiving the same thence, the navie, the humane strength of this realme, our merchants and their goods shal not be subiect to arrest of ancient enemies & doubtfull friends, as of late yeeres they have beene.

8 If our nation do not make any conquest there, but only use trafficke and change of commodities, yet by meane the countrey is not very mightie, but divided into pety kingdoms, they shall not dare to offer us any great annoy, but such as we may easily revenge with sufficient chastisement to the unarmed people there.

9 Whatsoever commodities we receive by the Steelyard merchants, or by our owne merchants from Eastland, be it Flaxe, Hempe, Pitch, Tarre, Masts, Clap-board, Wainscot, or such like; the like good may we receive from the North and Northeast part of that countrey neere unto Cape Briton, in returne for our course Woollen clothes, Flannels and Rugges<sup>1</sup> fit for those colder regions.

10 The passage to and fro, is thorow the maine Ocean sea, so as we are not in danger of any enemies coast.

11 In the voyage, we are not to crosse the burnt Zone, nor to passe thorow frozen seas encombred with ice and fogs, but in temperate climate at all times of the yeere: and it requireth not, as the East Indie voiage doth, the taking in of water in divers places, by reason that it is to be sailed in five or six weeks: and by the shortnesse, the merchant may yeerely make two returnes (a factory once being erected there) a matter in trade of great moment.

12 In this trade by the way in our passe to and fro, we have in tempests and other haps, all the ports of Ireland to our aid, and no neere coast of any enemy.

13 By this ordinary trade we may annoy the enemies to Ireland, and succour the Queenes Maiesties friends there, and in time we may from Virginia yeeld them whatsoever commoditie they now receive from the Spaniard; and so the Spaniards shall want the ordinary victual that heertofore they received yeerely from thence, and so they shall not continue trade, nor fall so aptly in practise against this government, as now by their trade thither they may.

<sup>1</sup> Imported from Ireland, and produced in South Lancashire and Cheshire.

14 We shall, as it is thought, enioy in this voyage, either some small Islands to settle on, or some one place or other on the firme land to fortifie for the saftie of our ships, our men, and our goods, the like whereof we have not in any forren place of our trafficke, in which respect we may be in degree of more safetie, and more quiet.

15 The great plentie of Buffe hides, and of many other sundry kinds of hides there now presently to be had, the trade of Whale and Seale fishing, and of divers other fishings in the great rivers, great bayes, and seas there, shall presently<sup>1</sup> defray the charge in good part or in all of the first enterprise, and so we shall be in better case than our men were in Russia, where many yeeres were spent, and great summes of money consumed, before gaine was found.

16 The great broad rivers of that maine that we are to enter into so many leagues navigable or portable into the maine land, lying so long a tract with so excellent and so fertile a soile on both sides, doe seeme to promise all things that the life of man doth require, and whatsoever men may wish, that are to plant upon the same, or to trafficke in the same.

17 And whatsoever notable commoditie the soile within or without doth yeeld in so long a tract that is to be carried out from thence to England, the same rivers so great and deepe, do yeeld no small benefit for the sure, safe, easie and cheape cariage of the same to shipboord, be it of great bulke or of great weight.

18 And in like sort whatsoever commoditie of England the Inland people there shall need, the same rivers doe worke the like effect in benefit for the incariage of the same, aptly, easily, and cheaply.

19 If we finde the countrey populous, and desirous to expel us, and iniuriously to offend us, that seeke but iust and lawfull trafficke, then by reason that we are lords of navigation, and they not so, we are the better able to defend our selves by reason of those great rivers, & to annoy them in many places.

20 Where there be many petie kings or lords planted on the

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* immediately. The argument was sound, but the development of these resources required the right type of settler, suitably equipped and supported by the fishing and leather interests at home. The first Virginia colonists were not of this type.

rivers sides, and by all likelihood mainteine the frontiers of their severall territories by warres, we may by the aide of this river ioine with this king heere, or with that king there, at our pleasure, and may so with a few men be revenged of any wrong offered by any of them; or may, if we will proceed with extremitie, conquer, fortifie, and plant in soiles most sweet, most pleasant, most strong, and most fertile, and in the end bring them all in subiection and to civilitie.

21 The knowen abundance of Fresh fish in the rivers, and the knowen plentie of Fish on the sea coast there, may assure us of sufficient victuall in spight of the people, if we will use salt and industrie.

22 The knowen plentie and varietie of Flesh, of divers kinds of beasts at land there, may seeme to say to us, that we may cheaply victuall our navies to England for our returnes, which benefit every where is not found of merchants.

23 The practise of the people of the East Indies, when the Portugals came thither first, was to cut from the Portugals their lading of Spice: and heereby they thought to overthrow their purposed trade. If these people shall practise the like, by not suffering us to have any commoditie of theirs without conquest, (which requireth some time) yet may we mainteine our first voyage thither, till our purpose come to effect, by the sea-fishing on the coasts there, and by dragging for pearles, which are said to be on those parts; and by returne of those commodities, the charges in part shall be defraied: which is a matter of consideration in enterprises of charge.

24 If this realme shall abound too too much with youth, in the mines there of Golde, (as that of Chisca and Saguenay) of Silver, Copper, Yron, &c. may be an employment to the benefit of this realme; in tilling of the rich soile there for graine, and in planting of Vines there for Wine; or dressing of those Vines which grow there naturally in great abundance, Olives for Oile; Orange trees, Limons, Figs and Almonds for fruit; Oad, Saffron, and Madder for Diers; Hoppes for Brewers; Hempe, Flaxe; and in many such other things, by imploiment of the soile, our people void of sufficient trades, may be honestly imploied, that els may become hurtfull at home.

25 The navigating of the seas in the voyage, and of the great rivers there, will breed many Mariners for service, and mainteine much navigation.

26 The number of raw Hides there of divers kindes of beasts, if we shall possesse some Island there, or settle on the firme, may presently imploy many of our idle people in divers severall dressings of the same, and so we may returne them to the people that can not dresse them so well; or into this realm, where the same are good merchandize; or to Flanders, &c. which present gaine at the first, raiseth great incouragement presently to the enterprise.

27 Since great waste Woods be there, of Oake, Cedar, Pine, Wall-nuts, and sundry other sorts, many of our waste people may be employed in making of Ships, Hoies, Busses and Boats; and in making of Rozen, Pitch and Tarre, the trees naturall for the same, being certainly knowen to be neere Cape Briton and the Bay of Menan, and in many other places there about.

28 If mines of white or gray marble, Jet, or other rich stone be found there, our idle people may be employed in the mines of the same, and in preparing the same to shape, and so shaped, they may be caried into this realm as good balast for our ships, and after serve for noble buildings.

29 Sugar-canes may be planted aswell as they are now in the South of Spaine, and besides the imploiment of our idle people, we may receive the commodity cheaper, and not inrich infidels or our doubtful friends, of whom now we receive that commoditie.

30 The daily great increase of Woolles in Spaine, and the like in the West Indies, and the great imploiment of the same into Cloth in both places, may moove us to endeavour, for vent of our Cloth, new discoveries of peopled regions, where hope of sale may arise; otherwise in short time many inconveniences may possibly ensue.

31 This land that we purpose to direct our course to, lying in part in the 40 degree of latitude, being in like heat as Lisbone in Portugall doth, and in the more Southerly part as the most Southerly coast of Spaine doth,<sup>1</sup> may by our diligence yeeld unto

<sup>1</sup> About 36° N.



us besides Wines and Oiles and Sugars, Orenge, Limons, Figs, Resings, Almonds, Pomegranates, Rice, Raw-silks such as come from Granada, and divers commodities for Diers, as Anile and Cochenillio, and sundry other colours and materials. Moreover, we shall not onely receive many precious commodities besides from thence, but also shal in time finde ample vent of the labour of our poore people at home, by sale of Hats, Bonets, Knives, Fish-hooks, Copper kettles, Beads, Looking-glasses, Bugles, & a thousand kinds of other wrought wares, that in short time may be brought in use among the people of that countrey, to the great reliefe of the multitude of our poore people, and to the woonderfull enriching of this realme. And in time, such league & entercourse may arise betweene our Stapling seats there, and other ports of our Northern America, and of the Islands of the same, that incredible things, and by few as yet dreamed of, may speedily follow, tending to the impeachment of our mightie enemies, and to the common good of this noble government.

The ends of this voyage are these:	{	1. To plant Christian religion. 2. To trafficke. 3. To conquer.	}	Or, to doe all three.
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To plant Christian religion without conquest, will bee hard. Trafficke easily followeth conquest: conquest is not easie. Trafficke without conquest seemeth possible, and not uneasie. What is to be done, is the question.

If the people be content to live naked, and to content themselves with few things of meere necessity, then trafficke is not. So then in vaine seemeth our voyage, unlesse this nature may be altered, as by conquest and other good meanes it may be, but not on a sudden. The like whereof appeared in the East Indies, upon the Portugals seating there.

If the people in the Inland be clothed, and desire to live in the abundance of all such things as Europe doth, and have at home all the same in plentie, yet we can not have trafficke with them, by meane they want not any thing that we can yeeld them.

Admit that they have desire to your commodities, and as yet have neither Golde, Silver, Copper, Iron, nor sufficient

quantitie of other present commoditie to mainteine the yeerely trade: What is then to be done?

The soile and climate first is to be considered, and you are with Argus eies to see what commoditie by industrie of man you are able to make it to yeeld, that England doth want or doth desire: as for the purpose, if you can make it to yeeld good Wine, or good Oile, as it is like you may by the climat, (where wilde Vines of sundry sorts doe naturally grow already in great abundance) then your trade may be mainteined. But admit the soile were in our disposition (as yet it is not) in what time may this be brought about?

*Meanes to  
breed a  
speedie trade.*

For Wine this is to be affirmed, that first the soile lying in 36 or 37 degrees in the temperature of South Spaine, in setting your Vine-plants this yeere, you may have Wine within three yeeres. And it may be that the wilde Vines growing there already, by orderly pruning and dressing at your first arrivall, may come to profit in shorter time.

And planting your Olive trees this yeere, you may have Oile within three yeeres.

And if the sea shores be flat, and fit for receipt of salt water, and for Salt making, without any annoy of neere freshes, then the trade of Salt onely may mainteine a yeerely navigation (as our men now trade to the isle of Maio,<sup>1</sup> and the Hollanders to Terra Firma neere the West end of the isle of Margarita.)

But how the naturall people of the countrey may be made skilfull to plant Vines, and to know the use, or to set Olive trees, and to know the making of Oile, and withall to use both the trades, that is a matter of small consideration: but to conquer a countrey or province in climate & soile of Italie, Spaine, or the Islands from whence we receive our Wines & Oiles, and to man it, to plant it, and to keepe it, and to continue the making of Wines and Oiles able to serve England, were a matter of great importance both in respect of the saving at home of our great treasure now yeerely going away, and in respect of the annoyance thereby growing to our enemies. The like consideration would be had, touching a place for the making of Salt, of temperature like those of France, not too too colde, as the Salts of the

<sup>1</sup> In the Cape Verde Is.

*A gentle  
course best to  
be held.*

Northern regions be; nor too too fry, as those be that be made more Southerly than France. In regard whereof, many circumstances are to be considered; and principally, by what meane the people of those parties may be drawn by all courtesie into love with our nation; that we become not hatefull unto them, as the Spaniard is in Italie and in the West Indies, and elsewhere, by their maner of usage: for a gentle course without crueltie and tyrannie best answereth the profession of a Christian, best planteth Christian religion; maketh our seating most void of blood, most profitable in trade of merchandise, most firme and stable, and least subiect to remoove by practise of enemies. But that we may in seating there, not be subiect wholly to the malice of enemies, and may be more able to preserve our bodies, ships, and goods in more safetie, and to be knowne to be more able to scourge the people there, civill or savage, than willing to offer any violence. And for the more quiet exercise of our manurance<sup>1</sup> of the soiles where we shall seat, and of our manuall occupations, it is to be wished that some ancient captaines of milde disposition and great iudgement be sent thither with men most skilfull in the arte of fortification; and that direction be taken that the mouthes of great rivers, and the Islands in the same (as things of great moment) be taken, manned, and fortified; and that havens be cut out for safetie of the Navie, that we may be lords of the gates and entries, to goe out and come in at pleasure, and to lie in safetie, and be able to command and to controule all within, and to force all forren navigation to lie out in open rode subiect to all weathers, to be dispersed by tempests and flawes,<sup>2</sup> if the force within be not able to give them the encounter abroad.

1 The Red Muscadell grape, that bishop Grindall procured out of Germanie; the great White Muscadell; the Yellow grape: the cuts<sup>3</sup> of these were woont yeerely to be set at Fulham; and after one yeeres rooting to be given by the bishop, and to be sold by his gardener. These presently provided, and placed in earth, and many of these so rooted, with store of cuts unrooted besides, placed in tubbes of earth shipped at the next voyage, to be

<sup>1</sup> Tillage.

<sup>2</sup> Sudden gusts.

<sup>3</sup> Cuttings. Grindal lived at Fulham Palace until 1570. His famous grapes proved an acceptable gift to the Queen and to Cecil.

planted in Virginia, may begin Vineyards, and bring Wines out of hand.

2 Provision great of wilde Olive trees may be made out of this citie<sup>1</sup> so then to be caried, to encrease great store of stocks to graffe the best Olive on: and Virginia standing in the same degree that The Shroffe<sup>2</sup> the Olive place doth in Spaine, we may win that merchandise, grafting the wilde.

3 Sugar-canes, if you can not procure them from the Spanish Islands, yet may you by your Barberie merchants procure them.<sup>3</sup>

4 There is an herbe in Persia, whereof Anile is made, and it is also in Barbarie: to procure that by seed or root, were of importance for a trade of merchandise for our clothing countrey.

5 Oad by the seeds you may have; for you may have hundreds of bushels in England, as it is multiplied: and having soile and labor in Virginia cheape, and the Oad in great value, lying in small roome, it will be a trade of great gaine to this clothing realme: and the thing can not be destroyed by Salvages. The roots of this you may have in plenty and number comming in the trade: so this may grow in trade within a yeere ready for the merchant.

6 Figge trees of many good kinds may be had hence in barrell, if now presently they be provided; and they in that climat will yeeld noble fruit, and feed your people presently, and will be brought in frailes<sup>4</sup> home as merchandise, or in barrell, as Resings also may be.

7 Sawed boords of Sassafras and Cedar, to be turned into small boxes for ladies and gentlewomen, would become a present trade.

8 To the infinite naturall increase of Hogs, to adde a device how the same may be fed by roots, acornes, &c. without spoiling your corne, would be of great effect to feed the multitude continually employed in labour: and the same cheaply bred and salted, and barrelled there and brought home, will be well solde for a good merchandise; and the barrels after, will serve for our home Herring-fishing; and so you sell your woods and the labour of your cooper.

<sup>1</sup> London.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly Arabic *Sharef*.

<sup>3</sup> From South Morocco.

<sup>4</sup> Rush baskets.

9 Receiving the salvage women and their children of both sexes by courtesie into your protection, and imploying the English women and the others in making of Linnen, you shal raise a woonderfull trade of benefit, both to carie into England and also into the Islands, and into the maine of the West Indies, victuall and labour being so cheape there.

10 The trade of making cables and cordage there, will be of great importance, in respect of a cheape maintenance of the Navie that shall passe to and fro; and in respect of such Navie as may in those parties be used for the venting of the commodities of England to be brought thither. And Powldavies,<sup>1</sup> &c. made for sailes of the poore Salvages, yeeld to the Navie a great helpe, and a great gaine in the trafficke.

But if seeking revenge on every iniurie of the Salvages we seeke blood & raise war, our Vines, our Olives, our Figge trees, our Sugar-canes, our Orenge and Limons, Corne, Cattell, &c. will be destroyed, and trade of merchandise in all things overthrowen; and so the English nation there planted and to be planted, shalbe rooted out with sword and hunger.

Sorts of men which are to be passed in this voyage

1 Men skilfull in all Minerall causes.

2 Men skilfull in all kinde of drugges.

3 Fishermen, to consider of the sea fishings there on the coasts, to be reduced to trade hereafter: and others for the fresh water fishings.

4 Salt-makers, to view the coast, and to make triall how rich the sea-water there is, to advise for the trade.

5 Husbandmen, to view the soile, to resolve for tillage in all sorts.

6 Vineyard-men bred, to see how the soile may serve for the planting of Vines.

7 Men bred in the Shroffe in South Spaine, for discerning how Olive trees may be planted there.

8 Others, for planting of Orenge trees, Figge trees, Limon trees, and Almond trees; for iudging how the soile may serve for the same.

<sup>1</sup> Coarse canvas normally imported from Brittany.

9 Gardeners, to proove the severall soiles of the Islands, and of our setling places, to see how the same may serve for all herbs and roots for our victualling; since by rough seas sometimes we may want fish, and since we may want flesh to victuall us, by the malice of the naturall people there: and gardeners for planting of our common trees of fruit, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, Peaches, Medlers, Apricoes, Quinces for conserves, &c.

10 Lime-makers, to make lime for buildings.

11 Masons, Carpenters, &c. for buildings there.

12 Bricke-makers and Tile-makers.

13 Men cunning in the art of fortification, that may chuse out places strong by nature to be fortified, and that can plot out and direct workemen.

14 Choise Spade-men, to trench cunningly, and to raise bulwarks and rampiers of earth for defence and offence.

15 Spade-makers, that may, out of the Woods there, make spades like those of Devonshire, and of other sorts, and shovels from time to time for common use.

16 Smithes, to forge the yrons of the shovels and spades, and to make blacke billes and other weapons, and to mend many things.

17 Men that use to breake Ash trees for pike-staves, to be imploied in the Woods there.

18 Others, that finish up the same so rough hewd, such as in London are to be had.

19 Coopers, to make caske of all sorts.

20 Forgers of pikes heads and of arrow heads, with forges, with Spanish yron, and with all maner of tooles to be caried with them.

21 Fletchers, to renew arrowes, since archerie prevaieth much against unarmed people: and gunpowder may soone perish, by setting on fire.

22 Bowyers also, to make bowes there for need.

23 Makers of oares, since for service upon those rivers it is to great purpose, for the boats and barges they are to passe and enter with.

24 Shipwrights, to make barges and boats, and bigger vessels, if need be, to run along the coast, and to pierce the great Bayes and Inlets.

25 Turners, to turne targets of Elme and tough wood, for use against the darts and arrowes of Salvages.

26 Such also as have knowledge to make targets of horne.

27 Such also as can make armor of hides upon moulds, such as were woont to be made in this realme about an hundred yeeres since, and were called Scottish jacks: such armor is light and defensive enough against the force of Salvages.

28 Tanners, to tanne hides of Buffes, Oxen, &c. in the Isles where you shall plant.

29 White Tawyers<sup>1</sup> of all other skinnes there.

30 Men skilfull in burning of Sope ashes, and in making of Pitch, and Tarre, and Rozen, to be fetched out of Prussia and Poland, which are thence to be had for small wages, being there in maner of slaves.

The severall sorts of trees, as Pines, Firres, Spruses, Birch and others, are to be boared with great augers a foot or halfe a yard above the ground, as they use in Vesely<sup>2</sup> towards Languedock and neere Bayona in Gascoigne: and so you shall easily and quickly see what Gummes, Rozen, Turpentine, Tarre, or liquor is in them, which will quickly distill out cleerely without any filthie mixture, and will shew what commoditie may be made of them: their goodnesse and greatnesse for masts is also to be considered.

31 A skilfull painter is also to be caried with you,<sup>3</sup> which the Spaniards used commonly in all their discoveries to bring the descriptions of all beasts, birds, fishes, trees, townes, &c.

<sup>1</sup> Workmen who prepare white leather.

<sup>2</sup> Vézelay, (Yonne).

<sup>3</sup> John White went out for this purpose.

## Document 48

### PAMPHLET FOR THE VIRGINIA ENTERPRISE ASCRIBED TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, lawyer

Inducements to the lykinge of the voyadge intended to that p<sup>te</sup> of America w<sup>ch</sup> lyethe betwene 34. and 36. degree of Septentrionall Latytude.<sup>1</sup>

1. The Countrey wherunto we dyrecte our voyadge lyinge as aforesaid conteynethe the Clymates of Barbary, Spayne, Portingale, ffraunce, Germany, Englande, Danske, Norway and Moscovia.

2. And we maye make our voyadge to and from thence in three monethes and soe make 2. or 3. retornes yearlie, a matter in trade of greate moment.

3. The Soyle is moste exelente and fruitfull garnished w<sup>th</sup> woodes of dyvers sortes of trees w<sup>th</sup> many lardge and deepe Ryvers replenished w<sup>th</sup> great plentye of Beastes, fowle, fyshe, fruites, and mynes of dyvars kyndes, and all other Comodyties for the lyef of men.

4. The people be well proportunityoned in there Lymbes, well favored, gentle, of a mylde and tractable disposition, apte to submytte them selves to good government, and ready to imbrace the christian faythe.

5. By inhabytinge of Countreyes w<sup>th</sup> Englishe people dyvers Comodyties will ensue: as:

ffirste the glorye of god by plantinge of christian Religion among the Gentilles there.

Item the enlarged domynions, power, Revenewes, and honnor of the Quenes moste exelent ma<sup>tie</sup> her heires and successo<sup>rs</sup>.

Item the increase of Shippinge and mariners and the mayntenance of much navigacion w<sup>ch</sup> is the strengthe of the Realme.

<sup>1</sup> The pamphlet printed in 1602 (Doc. 47) refers in the title to lats. 40°-42°, but in the text lats. 36°, 37° and 40° are mentioned: perhaps the title was adapted to fit Brereton's purpose, which was to deal with North Virginia, the former Norumbega.



Item the poore and Idle persons w<sup>ch</sup> nowe are ether burdensome or hurtfull to this Realme at home maye hereby become profytable members by ymployinge them ether at home. viz.

Item ymployinge them in those Countreyes in mynes of goulde, sylver, copper etc.

In dregginge of Pearle etc.

In plantinge of sugar canes in the moste southerlie partes.

In mayntenance and increasinge of silke wormes for sylke and dressinge of the same.

In gatheringe of Cotten whereof there is great store.

In Tyllinge of the Soyle there for grayne etc.

In plantinge of Vynes for wyne.

Ollives for oyle.

Trees for orrenge, leomandes, Almondes, fygge and other fruites.

In sowinge oade and madder for dyvers [dyers].

Hempe and flaxe for Clothes Cordage etc.

In dressinge of rawe hydes of dyvers kindes of Beastes.

In makinge of Salte as in Rochell or Bayon.

In killinge the whale, wherpole, seale, and porpose etc. for Trayne oyle.

ffyshinge saltinge and dryinge Lynge Codd Salmon etc.

In makinge of Ropes and other Cordages.

In makinge and gatheringe Honye, waxe, Pitche, Tarre, Rosen, and Turpentyne.

In hewinge and shapinge of Stone as marble, gete, Christall, freestone etc. w<sup>ch</sup> wilbe good Balest for our Shippes homewardes and after serve for noble buildinges.

In felling of Timber, hewinge and sawinge the same for buildinge of howses and shippes etc.

In makinge of Caske owers and all other manner of staves.

In buildinge of Churches Townes fortes etc.

In powdringe and barellinge of fyshe and fowles w<sup>ch</sup> wilbe noble provytion for sea and lande.

In dryinge sortinge and packinge of feathers wherof there may be had great quantytie.

6. Soe as by reason of the varyable Climates in the saide Countreyes and excellent Soyle w<sup>th</sup> the industrie aforesaide we

may retorne from thence all the Comodyties we<sup>ch</sup> we nowe receave from Barbarye, Spayne, Portugale, Italy, Danske, Norway and Muscovia better cheape than nowe we have them and not inrytche our doubtfull frendes and infydelles as nowe by our ordynary trade we doe.

7. Our ladinge and unladyng there wilbe boathe easye and cheape, by reson the Ryvars be soe deepe.

8. The passage to and froe is nether by the Coaste of ffrance, nor throughe the streight of Juberaltar, nor by the Streight of Denmarke. Soe as we shall not be in daunger of the frenche-man, nor the Spanyarde, nor Turke, nor of any State of Italye, nor of the kinge of Denmarke, nor any other Prince or Potentate in the northe nor in the northe Easte partes of the worlde.

9. In this voyadge we are not to pass the burnt lyne nor to passe the frozen Seas but in a temperate Clymate at all tymes of the yeare, and yt requireth not as longe voyadges doethe the takinge in of water in dyvers places by reson yt maye be sayled in v or vi weekes, whereby the merchaunt maye make yearly 2. or 3. retournes.

10. In this trade by the waye in passage to and froe, we have in Tempestes and other happes all the portes of Ireland to our ayde and noe nearer Coaste of any Enimye.

11. By this ordinarye trade we may injoye [annoye] the Enimyres to Ireland and succoure the Queenes Ma<sup>tes</sup> frendes there and in shoarte tyme we maye from these Coastes yealde them whatsoever Comodyties they nowe receave from Spayne, and so the Spanyard shall wante the ordynary victualles that they receave yearlie from thence wherby they cannot con-tynewe trade nor fall so aptly to practize against this government as nowe by there trade thither they maye and doe.

12. In tradinge to those Countreyes we shall not neade (for to feare the Spanishe Inquisition) to throwe out our Bibles and prayer bookes into the Seas before arryvall nor yet take suche horrible othes offred by the Spanishe searchers to such daylie wilfull and highe offence of the Almightye as daylye we doe in followinge our Trades into Spayne.

13. In this voyadge having settled our factorye in some convenyent place fortyfied by nature or arte, our Shippes men

and goodes shall not be subjecte to the daunger of our Auncyent Enemyes or doubtfull ffrendes as in other forren places of usuall trade they have bynne and yet are, in w<sup>ch</sup> respecte we shalbe in more safetie and quiett then before.

14. Yf our nacion doe not make any Conqueste there but onlye use trafique and chaunge of Comodyties by meane<sup>r</sup> the Countrye is not so mightie a nacion as ether ffraunce or Spayne, they shall not dare to offer us any anoye but suche as we maye easylie revenge w<sup>th</sup> sufficient Chastisement to the unarmed people there.

15. Yf they will not suffer us to have any Comodyties of theres w<sup>th</sup>out Conqueste w<sup>ch</sup> doethe require long tyme, yet maye we maynteyn our firste voyadges by the Sea fyshinge on the Coastes there, and by retorne of that Comodyties the Chardges shalbe defrayed w<sup>ch</sup> is a matter of consyderacion in enterprises of Chardge.

16. Yf we fynde any kinges readye to defende their Tirratories by warre and the Countrye populous desieringe to expell us that seeke but juste and lawfull Traffique, then by reason the Ryvers be lardge and deepe and we lordes of navigacion, and they w<sup>th</sup>out shippinge, we armed and they naked, and at continuall warres one w<sup>th</sup> another, we maye by the ayde of those Ryvars joyne w<sup>th</sup> this kinge here or w<sup>th</sup> that kinge there at our pleasure and soe w<sup>th</sup> a fewe men be revenged of any wronge offered by them and consequentlie maye yf we will conquere fortifye and plante in soyles moste sweete, most pleasaunte, moste fertill and strounge. And in the ende to bringe them all in subjection or scywillitie for yt is well knowen they have bynne contented to submytte them selves and all that w<sup>ch</sup> they possesse to suche as hathe defended them againste there Enemyes speciallie againste the caniballes.

17. ffrom the northe partes of these Countreyes there is great hope to sayle into the Southe Sea, whereby unspeakable honnor and benyfitt maye aryse by the trades to ensue aswell in Caytaia the Islandes of Malucos and other landes and Islandes in thother Hemispherie for Spice, drugges, goulde, sylver, pearle, pretious stones and other ritche marchaundizes for the

<sup>r</sup> Because.

w<sup>ch</sup> we maye have large and ample vente not only of our wolleyne Clothes of Englande but also of the labor of our poore people at home by sale of Hattes, Cappes, and a thousande kynde of other wrought ware that in tyme may be brought in use amounge the people of those Countreyes to the great relief of the multitude of our pore people, and to the wonderfull inrytching of this Realme, and in tyme such league and entercourse maye aryse, betwene our Staplynge Seate there and all the portes of Ameryca that incredible thinges may followe tendinge to the ympeachment of our myghtye Enimyres and to the comon good of all the Domynions of this noble government.

18. And to conclude by reason of the great increase of wolles in Spayne the like in the weste Indyres and the great ymployment of the same into Cloathe in both those places w<sup>th</sup> the great decaye of our usuall Trades in all places in Europe at this tyme, And the wonderfull increase of our people here in Englande and a great number of them voyde of any good trade or ymployment to gete their lyvinge maye be a sufficient cause to move not onely the marchaunts and Clothiers but alsoe all other sortes and degrees of our nacion to seeke newe discovereyes of peopled regions for vente of our Idle people, otherwyse in shourte tyme many mischeifs maye ensue.

## Document 49

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO SIR F. WALSINGHAM, 1585

To the right honourable SR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, principal secretarie to her Ma<sup>tie</sup>, give these at the Courte.

Your Honors goodnes extended diverse ways unto mee at my being in England the last somer,<sup>1</sup> doth much encourage mee at this present to crave yo<sup>r</sup> favour in a matter more then reasonable.

Yt plesed her Ma<sup>tie</sup> twoe dayes before my despach, uppon the sight of a couple of bookes of myne in writing, one in Latin upon

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* in 1584.

Aristotles politicks,<sup>1</sup> the other in English concerning Mr Rawleys voyage<sup>2</sup> (the copie whereof I purpose to send yor honor immediately after Ester) to grant mee the next vacation of a prebend in Bristol, w<sup>ch</sup> is a thinge of very smal vallue. The words of my grant are, that I shold enjoy yt next, whether yt be by death, vacation, resignation, or any other waye howsoever. And yet since my cominge out of England I am advertized that one Mr Sanders, a prebend of that place, ether hath or meaneth to resigne his roome to another, w<sup>ch</sup> if yt be not hindered by yo<sup>r</sup> honors favour, my reversion wil not be worth the mony that the scales did stand mee in, for if these resignations be permitted, I may bee these sevene and sevene yeares before I shal be placed. Therefore I am humbly to beseech yo<sup>r</sup> honor that you wold not suffer my graunte to be frustrated by any such dealing.

How careful I have bin to advertise S<sup>r</sup> Walter Rawley from tyme to tyme, and to send him discourses both in printe and written hand, concerning his voyage, I had rather you shold understand of him than of myselfe. I was loath to trouble yo<sup>r</sup> honor wth these my matters, consideringe the business of the tymes. And to medle in other matters that appertayne not unto mee without commission, I cold not tell howe yt wold have bin taken. Notwithstanding, since these new Grisons tumults, I have bin more vigilant and careful to seeke how thinges goe than heretofore, and what I can lerne amonge them of the religion, I alwayes bring unto my lord, w<sup>ch</sup> can judge of reportes and advertise you of the truth.

One thinge I note, that the Spanish ambassadour, the Popes nuncio and the Jesuits, if any thing fal out in any parte of Christendome on ther side, they blase yt abroad by their swarmes of spies to the uttermoste in every corner. And if matter fayle them, they cease not every second day to coyne newe rumors and false bruits, w<sup>ch</sup> notwithstanding they be most untrue and vague, yet I find by experience that they worke very great and strange affects. On the other side, if any thinge fal out against them, they seeke a thousand devises and shiftes to suppress y<sup>t</sup>, as they covered cunningly a good while their overthrow in Februarie last among the Grisons: and nowe of late

<sup>1</sup> Document 41.

<sup>2</sup> Document 46.

w<sup>th</sup> terrible othes they deny theyr defeyt upon the river of Antwerpe: w<sup>ch</sup> we cannot urge soe far forth as we wold, unless we had certayne advertisement thereof out of England.

Notwithstanding, I have bin advertised by men of good intelligence that whereas the Prince of Parma had purposed to have ayded Guise<sup>1</sup> with 1500 footmen and three hundred Albaneses horsemen, upon these newe accidents at Ostend and on the river he hath been constrayned to send a countermaunde to stay them at home: w<sup>ch</sup> matter of Andwerpe, if yt be wel followed, wil frustrate Guise of his forces that he hoped for out of the Lowe Countreys, and constrayne him and his faction to surcease his troubling of them of the religion, and to growe more willingly to composition with the King.

It was told mee in secret that the King had sent by Marseilles a messenger to Constantinople within less than this month, yo<sup>r</sup> honor may gesse why. Wee heere that heere is looked for shortly a legate from Rome.

I wold have sent yo<sup>r</sup> honor diverse Pamphlets, both in writing and printed, but that I knowe Mr Wade<sup>2</sup> hath them al for yo<sup>r</sup> Honor. Therefore for the present I surcease, beseeching the Almighty to blesse and prosper yo<sup>r</sup>. Paris the 7th of April, 85.

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors humble to command

*Richard Hakluyt*

The rumor of Sir Walter Rawles fleete, and especially the preparation of Sir Francis Drakes,<sup>3</sup> doth soe much vexe the Spaniard and his fautors<sup>4</sup> as nothing can doe more: and therefore I could wyssh that although Sir Frances Drakes journey be stayd, yet the rumor of his setting forth might be continued. They have sent some to enquire of that action in cunning manner of my lord himself, as he told me.

They have given out here within these three dayes, even in the French Courte, that divers my Lords in England were up in armes, and the catholicks with them, and that they have taken an Iland, yea, Curtis, yo<sup>r</sup> man, was diverse tymes demanded thereof.

<sup>1</sup> Head of the Catholic League.

<sup>2</sup> William Wade, son of Armigil Wade, who went to the New World with Richard Hore in 1536.

<sup>3</sup> Destined for a raid on the Indies.

<sup>4</sup> Partisans.

## Document 50

### NOTE FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO A GENTLEMAN, 1585

These xx several Tytles are the heades of the chapters conteyned in the booke of Sir Wal: Reighleyes viage to the west Indes, w<sup>ch</sup> bycause of the rarenes of matter therein contained, and also for that fewe or none (her mat<sup>tie</sup> excepte) hath seene, I thought it best to offer yo<sup>r</sup> worship my labor therein, as one who best deservth the same: and therefore have sent yo<sup>r</sup> the Tytles to know whether yo<sup>r</sup> like of ye same or noe.

This bearer and author of ye foresaid woorke, Mr. Hacklyuit, doth at this instant present the booke, written all w<sup>t</sup> my hand, to Mr secretary, who hath very earnestly often tymes wrytt for yt, and so hath ye Erle of Leycester. But as yet this is the first excription, and yf youre worship plees you shall have the second, when I shall understand so.<sup>1</sup>

## Document 51

### LETTER FROM RALPH LANE TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, 1585

An extract of M. LANES letter, to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT Esquire, and another gentleman of the middle Temple, from Virginia.

In the meane while you shall understand that since Sir Rich. Greenvils departure from us, as also before, we have discovered the maine to be the goodliest soile under the cope of heaven, so abounding with sweete trees, that bring such sundry rich and

<sup>1</sup> The wording of this note is obscure, but it would appear that Hakluyt dispatched it (with the chapter headings) to the unknown, so as to reach him while he himself was taking the complete work to Walsingham. It may have been hastily dictated to the actual messenger, who would then be identical with the copyist who prepared the manuscript for Walsingham. But the 'I' of the last phrase must be Hakluyt himself, and the confusion between the first and third persons may merely be due to carelessness.

most pleasant gummes, grapes of such greatnes, yet wild, as France, Spaine nor Italy hath no greater, so many sorts of Apothecarie drugs, such severall kindes of flaxe, & one kind like silke, the same gathered of a grasse, as common there as grasse is here. And now within these few dayes we have found here a Guinie wheate, whose eare yeeldeth corne for bread, 400. upon one eare, and the Cane maketh very good and perfect sugar, also *Terra Samia*, otherwise *Terra sigillata*. Besides that, it is the goodliest and most pleasing territorie of the world (for the soile is of an huge and unknown greatnesse, and very wel peopled and towned, though savagelie) and the climate so wholesome, that we have not had not one sicke, since we touched the land here. To conclude, if Virginia had but Horses and Kine in some reasonable proportion, I dare assure my selfe being inhabited with English, no realme in Christendome were comparable to it. For this alreadie we find, that what commodities soever Spaine, France, Italy, or the East parts doe yeeld unto us in wines of all sortes, in oiles, in flaxe, in rosens, pitch, frankensence, currans, sugers, and such like, these parts do abound with ye growth of them all, but being Savages that possesse the land, they know no use of the same. And sundry other rich commodities, that no parts of the world, be they West or East Indies, have, here wee finde great abundance of. The people naturally are most curteous, and very desirous to have clothes, but especially of course cloth rather then silke, course canvas they also like wel of, but copper caryeth ye price of all, so it be made red. Thus good M. Hakluyt and master H. I have joyned you both in one letter of remembrance, as two that I love dearly well, and commending me most hartily to you both, I commit you to ye tuition of the Almightye. From the new Fort in Virginia, this 3. September, 1585.<sup>1</sup>

Your most assured friend *Rafe Lane*.

<sup>1</sup> Within a year the Colonists were on their way home.



## Document 52

### EXTRACT FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1585

Then coasting along the shore of Florida, they [Drake and his men] seized two Towns, S. Antonies and S. Hellenes, both of them abandoned by the Spanish garrisons, and burnt them. Lastly, sayling along by a wasted coast, they found certaine Englishmen, which had seated themselves in Virginia, so named in honour of Queen Elizabeth, a Virgin, whom Sir Walter Rayley, a man in great favour with Queen Elizabeth, had sent thither of late for a Colony, in a most commendable desire to discover farre countries, and to advance the glory of England for navigation. . . . Lane & those which were carried thither, being in great penury and out of all hope of victualls out of England, & greatly weakened in their number, with one voyce besought Drake that he would carry them back againe into ther owne country, which hee willingly did.

And these men which were brought back, were the first that I know of, which brought into England that Indian plant, which they call Tobacco, & Nicotia, and use it against the crudities, being taught by the Indians.<sup>1</sup> . . . Whilst these things were done in America under the burning Zone, John Davis with two ships set forward at the charges of Wm. Sanderson (one that hath deserved well of the Geographycall studies by setting forth Globes)<sup>2</sup> and other Londoners, searched for a passage by the Frozen Zone, by the upper part of America to East India.

<sup>1</sup> This is incorrect, see *supra*, p. 195.

<sup>2</sup> Made by Emery Molyneux.

## Document 53

VERSE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1586<sup>1</sup>

*In laudem eorum qui novas orbis partes detexerunt.*

Sinarum tractus gens Lusitana subegit,  
Et Mexicanos fortis Iberus agros:  
Olim magnanimis concessit Florida Gallis:  
VIRGINIA et sceptro nuper, Elisa, tuo.  
Lusitana suum celebrat gens inclita Gamam:  
Terra que Cortesium jactat Ibero suum.  
Dat Laudonnerio palmam fortique Ribalto  
Gallia, nos primas clare Raleghe tibi.  
Richardus Hakluit Anglus.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the French edition of Laudonnière. Translation:

*In praise of those who have discovered new parts of the world.*

The Portuguese subdued the tracts of China  
And the stout Spaniard the fields of Mexico:  
Florida once yielded to the noble French:  
VIRGINIA now to thy sceptre, Elizabeth!  
The illustrious race of Portugal celebrates its Gama,  
And the land of Spain boasts its Cortes,  
France gives the palm to Laudonnière and brave Ribault,  
But we, noble Ralegh, assign first place to thee.  
Richard Hakluyt, Englishman.

## Document 54

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR WALTER RALEGH BY MARTIN BASANIER, 1586

A ILLUSTRE ET VERTUEUX SEIGNEUR WALTER RALEGH, Chevalier Anglois, Seneschal des Duchez de Cornuall & d'Exon, Gouverneur & Capitaine des Chasteaux & Seigneuries d'icelles pour la serenissime maiesté de la Royne d'Angleterre, grand maistre & surintendât des mines d'estain par les provinces de Cornuall' & d'Exon.

Monseigneur, l'histoire estât cōme un miroir, par le moyē duquel nous formons nos actiōs au moule des vertus de ceux qui nous y sont representez : & lisant les gestes des hommes, n'est autre chose que de hanter & frequenter avec eux, pour profiter en leur compaignie & continuelle conversation : si bien que les historiens sont merueilleusement bien venuz & receuz chez ceux qui font profession de la vertu. C'est pourquoy ayant ouy si haut & iusques icy entonner les belles & louables vertus qui vous assistent, & la naturelle inclination qu'avez euē & continuez avoir à l'art de navigation, que ie puis dire à bon droict exceller les autres, tant pour le bien & profit qui en revient au public, que pour la grande communication qu'il reçoit de ses belles sciences mathematiques, recognees entre toutes les humaines, participer de divinité, & retenues au premier degré de certitude, par lesquelles aussi nous parvenons à la cognoissance des plus beaux & plus profonds secrets de la nature des choses : i'ay pensé faire un deu & tres-bon office à la memoire du Capitaine Laudonniere, & à vous (Monseigneur) service agreable, si vous presentant l'histoire de ses navigations ie le faisois, comme nouveau domestique de vostre maison, revivre en ce monde inferieur, & converser familierement avec vous, lequel vous recevrez, s'il vous plaist, comme un pilote que ie vous ameine, duquel ie m'assure que la frequentation vous donnera non seulement plaisir & contentement, mais vous rendra

d'autant plus ardent & affectionné à continuer les beaux & genereux exercices, qui desia vous ont acquis un triomphe d'honneur & gloire incomparable: en ce mesmement que n'y avez espargné ny vos grands biens ny vostre personne mesme, ny autre chose qui puisse depēdre de l'homme qui fait profession d'honneur & de vertu, ayant en ce suivy le vray sentier tramé par nos ancestres, quand ils ont désiré profiter à leurs republicues, immortaliser leurs noms, & en fin parvenir à la gloire de Dieu, qui sont trois poincts principaux, ausquels l'homme d'honneur & de vertu doit infalliblement aspirer: en quoy par une ferme & louable constance perseuerez iournellement avec augmentation d'honneur & profit à vostre nation. Tesmoins en sont de fresche & recente memoire les deux voyages faits depuis deux ans<sup>1</sup> en ça par vos vaisseaux, vers les parties occidentalles, où vous & aucuns de vos amys n'avez moins employé de soixante mil' escus: tellement que selon le rapport de personnes signallez & dignes de foy, y avez de rechef descouvert quelques Isles & terre continente entre la Floride & le Cap Breton, nommee à present (à l'honneur de vostre tres-vertueuse & serenissime Royne) Virginea, où le Seigneur Greenvill' a estably vostre colonie, exerce certainement beaucoup louable & non moins profitable à une republique. Par ainsi (Monseigneur) ayant tousjours esté curieux recueillir les histoires des navigations modernes, le plus fidelement & sincerement qu'il m'a esté possible, & icelles faire recognoistre par ceux mesme qui y avoient commandé, ou à faute d'eux, à ceux qui y avoient assisté, & apres les verifier és poincts dependans des Mathematiques, par lesquelles elles se peuvent & doivent certainement confirmer, en fin ceste histoire passee par la mesme pierre de touche, & conferee avec la semblable, qui est entre mes mains, toutesfois descrite par un autre grād Pilote Frāçois, en laquelle il a diligēment observé les latitudes des lieux & profonditez des havres & rivieres le long de la coste (l'edition de laquelle je difere à autre occasion :) & estant la presente aussi bien & deuement descrite, qu'il s'en puisse ou doive desirer de la bouche d'un Capitaine de marine, duquel il ne faut esperer une langue si diserte ou telle profundité de doctrine qui seroit requise en la description de l'histoire de navigation:

<sup>1</sup> In 1584 and 1585.

estant neantmoins supprimee & esteinte ia par l'espace de vingt ans ou environ, ie l'ay tiree avec la diligence de Monsieur Hakluit, homme certainement bien versé en l'histoire géographique & ayant bonne part en la diversité des langues & sciences, comme du tombeau, où elle avoit ia si long temps inutile reposé, pour la mettre où il m'a semblé par la frequente lecture d'icelle qu'elle se demandoit. Ainsi qu'il appert par les trois navigatiōs y cōtenues, & principalement par la seconde, où l'on cognoist nos François avoir autāt receu d'humanité & courtoisie des vostres, que d'affliction d'autres, & specialement d'un general Anglois, nommé le seigneur Hawkins, qui lors vint surgir en la coste de ladite Floride, & terrir au fleuve de May, où estoit nostre fort & colonie, duquel les humanitez & courtoisies dont il usa envers nos François, ne le peuvent certainement declarer autre qu'homme d'honneur & de vertu. C'est pourquoy (Monseigneur) apres avoir ainsi fidellement recueilly ladite histoire, sans y avoir diminué, adjousté, ou innové, en quelque sorte que ce soit (suyvant le devoir du vray hystoriographe) & mesmement laissé le mesme François avec sa nue nayfveté, sans le farder ou desguiser en aucune sorte, sinon apostiler en marge, & mettre en la fin un ordre succinct des choses plus notables, je l'ay bien voulu mettre ainsi candidement en lumiere, en faveur de vous, pour la vous dedier, comme à celuy qui est tres-digne d'icelle, voire de plus grand chose, ensemble le vœu que ie fais vous faire tres-humble service, que recevrez s'il vous plaist d'aussi bonne volonté que je prie Dieu.

Monseigneur, vous donner par sa sainte grace tres-longue & tres-heureuse vie. De Paris ce premier jour de Mars, 1586.

Vostre tres-humble serviteur

*M. Basanier*

## Document 55

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO SIR W. RALEGH, 1586

To the right worshipful and worthy knyght S<sup>R</sup> WALTER RALEGH  
give these with speede. At the Cowrte or at Durham house.

Sr, Yor parliament at home beinge ended, I thinke you are nowē  
at more leasure to heere what passeth abroadē in these parts.

Yt is certayne, and yt may bee you knowe yt alreadie that the  
Queene mother and the kinge of navarre have spoken together at  
Cognac within a dosen leages of Rochel. She told hym that he  
shold have any thinge he cold desire savinge the free exercise of  
the relligion, w<sup>ch</sup> the kinge of france her sonne in noe wise wold  
yeld unto: whereuppon for al that she cold doe to retayn hym he  
departed in a greate choler after that he had signified unto her  
that as long as he and his frendes lived they wold never remitte  
any jotte of their former libertie which they had before the  
revocation thereof by the last edicte. The wiser sort thinke there  
wilbe noe peace until the Germanes come into ffrance, w<sup>ch</sup> in my  
judgment wil not be until July or August.

Roncroix is rendred as I ever thought. But the condition was  
more honest then I feared yt wold be, for they were licensed to  
departe and had a piece of money. The kinge wrote to place one  
governour in yt, and the Duke of Guise strake hym out and put  
in another at his owne pleasure: where in he hath braved hym  
most shamefully. He hath written to his officers to sel al that he  
hath in and aboute Paris: w<sup>ch</sup> giveth occasion to many men to  
muse what he shold meane by yt. Nowe that Roncroix is  
rendred there is a brute that he wil set uppon the Duke of  
Bouillon and besiege Sedan on the one side and the Duke of  
Parma wth his fresh forces and the bishoppe of liege on the  
other side, w<sup>ch</sup> if they shold doe the poore yonge duke were  
undon without the present succours of Lowe Almagne, or by  
our effectual stirring in Holland to cal backe the Spanish forces.  
The Duke de mayne havinge gotten pay of the kinge and licensed

the ragged remnant of the Suisses and reysters to departe home, is come out of Gascoigne hither.

Duke Joyeuse the admiral is likewise here arrived: and both of them were present on this newe yeres day at the election of their newe knights, w<sup>ch</sup> were but fower, by reason that al the other roomes were filled the yere before. At these solemnities the Duke de Mayne twise intruded hymselfe in dancinge before the Duke de Longeville, whereuppon there is like to growe some quarel as some thinke.

Eight cardinals are newly created by the Pope, one french, whose name is monsur lenoncourte, the rest are al except one Italiens.

Madame Conestable the mother of mareshal Montmorencie and wife of the old constable w<sup>ch</sup> was slayne at the Battayle of St. Denis is now dead indeed, and her goods are given in keeping to Madame l'Angolesme, the kings base sister.

Duke de Mercured [Mercoeur] the governour of Bretaine and the cardinal of Voydement his brother are here at court. By the consent of the nobilitie and the parliament of Paris the king rayseth at this instant very greavous and general impositions uppon wyne, flesh, corne, w<sup>th</sup> linnen cloth, sylkes and diverse other marchandise. He borroweth of certayne Italien rich bankers and others twelve hundred thousand crownes, w<sup>ch</sup> with the interest is to be payd uppon these newe taigles.<sup>1</sup> Some that knowe the state of thinges say that this somme will doe noe more but paye that w<sup>ch</sup> is yet owing for the warres newly past. The king wold have had the Prince of Condie give over his government of Picardie to his youngest brother the Comte of Suessons, w<sup>ch</sup> he refuseth.

Monsur Cornuchon the Seneshal of Tholouse, a great soldier and a man of high authoritie in that stronge citie is newly dead by sicknes, and likewise la valette flores the colonel of their footemen. Montmorencie not omitting this opportunitie hath taken a strong litle towne w<sup>th</sup>in three or fower leages of Tholouse called La Bastide.

Yo<sup>r</sup> unhappie Pedro de Sarminto is taken by the protestants wthin fower postes of the frontiers of Spayne.<sup>2</sup> The name of the

<sup>1</sup> Fr. *tailles* = subsidies.

<sup>2</sup> Liberated by Raleigh's influence from captivity in England.

place as yet I cannot perfectly lerne. His ransome is rated at ten thousand crownes. I ascribe this his seconde misfortune to the juste plage of God for his ingratitude to my lord admiral and yo<sup>r</sup> self the authors of his undeserved libertie. There was a packet founde aboute hym contayninge great tresons of Peter Sibures<sup>1</sup> agaynst England.

I heare nothinge from yo<sup>w</sup> of the acceptation of my dedication of that noble historie of the eight decades of Peter Martyr, w<sup>ch</sup> wil cost mee fortie french crownes, and five monethes travayle w<sup>th</sup> that w<sup>ch</sup> is to come before yt be finished, w<sup>ch</sup> wilbe aboute the beginninge of march. Yf her majestie have of late advanced y<sup>or</sup>, I wold be gladde to be acquaynted wth yo<sup>r</sup> title, and if there be any thinge else that yo<sup>w</sup> wold have mentioned in the epistle dedicatorie, yo<sup>w</sup> shal doe wel to let mee understand of yt betymes.<sup>2</sup>

Yor mappe answerable unto the Spanish voyage of Antonio de Espeio, uppon occasion of business unlooked for, hath bin hitherto differred by Andrewe Home, the Portingale, the prince of the Cosmographers of this age.<sup>3</sup> But w<sup>th</sup>in this moneth yo<sup>r</sup> shall not fayle of yt God willinge, and that in better sorte for the longer staying for yt.

Yf yo<sup>w</sup> proceed, w<sup>ch</sup> I longe much to knowe, in yo<sup>r</sup> enterprise of Virginia, yo<sup>r</sup> best planting wilbe aboute the bay of the Chesepians, to w<sup>ch</sup> latitude Peter Martyr, and franciscus lopez de Gomara the Spaniard confesse that our Cabot and the English did first discover: w<sup>ch</sup> the Spaniards here after cannot deny us whensoever wee shalbe at Peace wth them. And yo<sup>r</sup> voyage of Antonie de Espeio bringeth yo<sup>w</sup> to rich sylver mynes up in the country in the latitude of 37½.<sup>4</sup>

Charles Chester,<sup>5</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> in al places speaketh al the good he can

<sup>1</sup> This was the Spanish agent who handled the matter of Drake's spoils.

<sup>2</sup> This paragraph indicates the way in which Dedicatory Prefaces were employed for propaganda purposes. Hakluyt had been at work on the Decades since October 1586.

<sup>3</sup> André Homem, cartographer to the Court. There is no evidence that he drew the promised map, but at some time a 'secret map' of the interior of New Spain of date 1585 came into the possession of Raleigh's Virginian observer Thomas Hariot (cf. *infra*, p. 456, *Epistle Dedicatory* of 1599), and presumably first into Raleigh's own hands.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* in the latitude of Virginia.

<sup>5</sup> Probably the Chester who had accompanied Sarmiento to Paris in November (*Cal. State Papers, Simancas*).



devise of you, sayth he is undone unlesse you helpe hym in his deed of guift for w<sup>ch</sup> he hath byn soe longe a sutor.

Yow shal doe very wel in my judgement to send for Mr. Charles Thynne nowe out of hand, who having alredie spent two yeres here hath gotten two languages, to witte the french and the Italien, and very proper knowledge in arithmeticke, geometrie and fortification: to w<sup>ch</sup> studies I was the man that earnestly persuaded hym in the beginninge of his coming hither; as one that sawe the excellencie of his witte, and the greate service that he might doe his countrie being therewithal furnished eyther in the enterprise of yo<sup>r</sup> Indies, or in any other place of warrelike service. But if yo<sup>w</sup> wil have hym home yo<sup>w</sup> must send hym that twentie pound yo<sup>w</sup> promised for the yong gentleman is in some litle debt. Thus desiring pardon for my boldnes wth my humble dutie to yor selfe and good Mr Stanhoppe I take my leve. Paris the 30th of December 1586. *R. H.*

## Document 56

EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR WALTER RALEGH  
BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1587

ILLUSTRI ET MAGNANIMO VIRO, GUALTERO  
RALEGHO, Equiti Anglo, Cornubiæ & Exoniæ stannifodinarum,  
omniûmque Regiæ maiestatis castellorum in iisdem prouinciis  
Præfecto Generali, S.D.

Ingenti laude dignos arbitror, Eques illustris & magnanime, qui suis laboribus & vitæ discrimine latentes hactenus tot Antipodum myriadas nostris gentibus cognitatas effecerunt. Illos verò qui ingenio pollentes eorum res præclarè gestas æternis literarum monumentis consignarunt, si non maiori, non multo sane minori in precio habendos, nec minus observandos existimo. Non immerito igitur illius summi viri Petri Martyris Anglerij Mediolanensis memoria bonis omnibus sacra & chara imprimis esse debet. Quicquid enim laude vel vituperio dignum

in vastis Novi Orbis regionib<sup>9</sup> partim detegendis, Castellanae partim potētiae subigendis, triginta & quatuor annorum spatio terra marique Hispani praestiterunt, à primis incunabulis historiam exorsus, particulari locorum descriptione, & temporum serie diligentissimè observatis, universo orbi Christiano Commentariis suis doctissimis commendavit. Neque verò carptim, ut plerique alij, neque lingua ut plurimùm doctis ignota, neque nudè aut frigide res narrat gestas, sed immensae illius Americae caput, collum, pectus, brachia, totumque adeo corpus suo insigni dextroque penicillo & vivis coloribus ingeniosissimè depingit, ornatu Latio eruditis familiari decentissimè induit, quotiescunque etiam res ipsa postulat, latentes rerum causas scrutatur, arcanos naturae effectus inquirat, & ex intimis reconditae philosophiae penetralibus sententias depromptas, ut splendidissima orationis lumina, gemmasque pulcherrimas creberrimè admiscet. Si ea respiciamus quae in terra procreantur, de viribus herbarum, fruticum fructibus, aromatum vigore, agrorum proventu, praestantia metallorum, quadrupedum coitu, generatione volucrum, natura piscium, ortu, incremento, aetate, victu, proprietatibus omnium ferè animantium, nec Aristoteles, nec Theophrastus, nec Columella, nec ipse Plinius, doctius aliquid, aut accuratum magis, quam noster hic Martyr unquam concinnarunt. Si vegetabilibus & brutis relictis ad homines & genus nostrum divertamus, gentium mores, urbium situs, foundationes coloniarum, idolorum cultus, sacrificandi ritus, studia belli, armorum genera, vicinorum inimicitias, domesticorum simultates, praeliorum eventus, status regnorum & mutationes, quis Cicero, quis Salustius, quis Caesar, quis Tacitus, maiori ornatu, brevitate, candore, maiori gravitate aut fide perpolivit? Ut alia taceam quae satis per se manifesta sunt, luculentissimum de fide est hoc argumentum, quòd, longè amotis & posthabitis, amicitiae, spei, invidiae passionibus, & particularium minutis affectibus, cuique quod suum est ubique tribuat, nullius vitia vel amicissimi dissimulando, nec debitas cuiusquam laudes minuendo. Laudat ille quidem multis in locis constantiam & invictos Hispanorum animos, eorumque in siti, fame, periculis, laboribus, vigiliis, crebrisque ærumnis tolerantiam summo cum applausu celebrat. Sed idem ille eorundem

avaritiam, ambitionem, cædes, rapinas, stupra, crudelitatem in nudas & innocuas gentes, interdum etiam armatorum clades & exercituum interneciones à Barbaris eisq; inermibus perpassas passim cōmemorat, & sine omni adulatione perpetrata flagitia acerrimè persequitur. Piget hæc, inquit alicubi, referre, sed oportet esse veridicū. Iam verò si à terra in altū provehamur, de motu Oceani, de eiusdem salsedine, de fluxu & refluxu, de gyris, de vorticibus, de circulari per Occidentem decursu, de cæcis scopulis, de vadis, de syrtibus, ô quanta & qualia apud hunc subinde sese offerunt rationum & obseruationum pondera. Postremò si rectà in cœlos cōvolem<sup>9</sup>, climatū diversitates, ventorum varietates, typhonum insanias, temporum vicissitudines, frigora, calores, siccitates, pluvias, occultos syderum motus & influentias, quis isto divinius unquam descripsit? Quamobrem quod olim Alexander Macedo de inuicto Achille dixisse fertur, ô fortunatum, qui Homerum tuarum laudum præconem inveneris, idem ego vere de gente Hispana effari possum, ô beatos & ter felices vos Hispanos, qui Martyrem, admirabilis ingenij virum, maximarum usu rerum pollentem, iudicio maturū, sciētiarum fere omnium cyclopædia exornatum, vestrorum apud Indos Hesperios laborum, rerūque animosè ac fortiter gestarum ebuccinatorem consecuti estis. Ut enim Nasonem sequar imitādo,

—Hesperios quis nosceret Indos,  
Martyris æternum si latuisset opus?

Istius tanti & talis viri opus insigne plusquam dimidia parte mutilum, & à quibusdam mágnis viris, quasi penitus sydere infausto periisset, vehemēter deploratum, integrum, suóq; nativo splēdori, nisi fallor, restitutum, quanta potui maxima diligentia in lucem iam tandem edendum curavi. Præterquā enim quòd infinita errata, summa cum sollicitudine repurgaverim, quibus undique scatebat Complutense exemplar, olim in Hispania semel tantum calchographorum typis mādatum, (quo mihi necessariò utendum erat, quia alię posteriores quatuor Decades nullubi quàm eo loci ederentur) annorum seriem diligēter observatam, nonnullásq; notationes apprimè necessarias ad margines apposui, indicémque amplum & accuratum in omnes libellos concinnatum adieci: nec his contentus, cartam

Geographicam præcipua operis loca continentem, ut perpendicularem appendicem adiunxi, memor illius quod vere dicitur, Geographiam esse historiæ oculum. Cur autem onus hoc in me susceperim rationes erant, partim ne viri docti & industrij tanto tamque amplo bono fraudentur, qui nullam aut exiguam cognitionem habent linguæ Hispanicæ & Italicæ, quibus omnia fere huius argumēti volumina, hoc unico opere excepto, involvuntur: partim ut aliæ gentes maritimæ, nostrique imprimis insulares Angli, Hispanorum initia & progressus intuētes, ad parem fortitudinis imitationem incitari possent. Nam qui exterorum laudes proponit, suos, si non sunt stipites, provocat. Adde quòd domesticum & familiare hinc petere possunt virtutis exemplum. Hic enim legent Sebastianum Cabotum, Baccalorum repertorem ter appellari, & esse in confesso, illum, Henrici septimi prudentissimi & fœlicissimi magnæ Elisabethæ nostræ aui auspiciis, anno sexto & nonagesimo supra millesimum & quadringētesimum, trecētis Anglis comitatum, universum illum tractū ab Arctico polo ad latitudinem freti Herculei (quod gradu trigesimo sexto continetur) Cubæque insulæ longitudinem, omnium Christianorū primum detexisse: eundemque ex Anglia à Fernão Catholico Rege in Hispaniam amplis muneribus vocatum Senatus Indici concurialem Martyri actum esse. Ex cuius summi viri è Britānia nostra discessu quantum nobis damni illatū fuerat, Henricus octavus rex invictissimus à suis quibusdam serò admonitus, facilè, quo valuit iudicio, intellexit, statimque clam domum revocatum amplissimo perpetuòque stipēdio ornavit, eumque, nisi mors inopinata impedivisset, munitissima classe, rebúsque omnibus necessariis instructum ad novas illas terras, quas, ablatis inde tribus indigenis, non tamen satis accuratè inspexerat, diligentius explorandas quàmprimum dimisisset. Sed hæc, ut videtur, divina providentia, tibi, Ornatissime Eques, reservavit. Tibi igitur has meas vigilias condonatas & consecratas esse volui. Cui enim potius, quàm tibi has noui Orbis Decades offerrem, qui centum ferè millium ducatorū impensa, novis tuis classibus regiones novas, novam iam tertio ducendo coloniam, notas ex ignotis, ex inaccessis pervias, novissimis hisce tēporibus nobis exhibes? Cuius omnes curæ, cogitationes, conatus, huc spectant, hæc versant, in his inhærent.

Cui cum Illustrissimo illo herôe, Carolo Howardo, altero Oceani maris Neptuno, Edoardi Staffordij, nostri apud regem Christianissimum oratoris prudentissimi sororio eadem studia, eadem voluntates, iidem ad res magnas terra marique aggrediendas sunt & fuerunt animorum stimuli. Cùm vero artis navigatoriæ peritia, præcipuum regni insularis ornamentum Mathematicarum scientiarum adminiculis adhibitis suum apud nos splendorē posse cōsequi facili perspiceres, Thomam Hariotum, iuvenem in illis disciplinis excellentē, honestissimo salario iam diu donatum apud te aluisti, cuius subsidio horis successivis nobilissimas scientias illas addisceres, tusque familiares duces maritimi, quos habes non paucos, cum praxi theoriā non sine fructu incredibili cōiungerēt. Ex quo pulcherrimo & sapientissimo instituto tuo, quid brevi eventurum sit, qui vel mediocri iudicio valent, facili proculdubio divinare poterunt. Unum hoc scio, unam & unicam rationem te inire, qua primò Lusitani, deinde Castellani, quod antea toties cum nō exigua iactura sunt conati, tandem ex animorum votis perfecērūt. Perge ergo Spartam quam nactus es ornare, perge navem illam plusquam Argonauticam, mille cuparum fere capacē, quam sumptibus plane regiis fabricatam iam tādē felicitate absolvisti, reliquæ tuæ classi, quam habes egregiē instructam, adiungere. Sinarum littora adhuc latentia & freta recondita nobis aperito: portas ab orbis initio præscriptione temporum obseratas tuis reserato. Restāt adhuc tibi novæ terræ, regna amplissima, gentes ignotæ, tibi, inquā, restant adhuc detegendæ, sceptrōq; serenissimæ Elisabethæ nostræ, maris Oceani, Hispano confitente, imperatricis, foelicibus tuis & armis & ausis brevi & facili negotio subigendæ. Sed quorsum currenti calcar addo, cur festinātem à tergis incito? Quorsum ego te, ut in incepto perstes, hortor aut admoneo, qui, literis nuperrime ab aula ad me datis sponte & ultro cōtestatus es, à tuę Virginiae suavissimis amplexib<sup>9</sup>, quā nymphā pulcherrimā, licet nondum satis plerisq; bene cognitā, munificentissima Regina in sponsam tibi dedit, nullis terroribus, iacturis, infortuniis, posse aut unquam velle amoveri. Hac si constantia paulisper modò usus fueris, novos eosque fecundissimos partus brevi emittet sponsa tua, quibus te tuosq; omnes mirificè beabit, illosque ignominia & pudore afficiet, qui illi temerē & impudenter

sterilitatem ausi sunt toties obiicere. Quis enim illā Virginiae tuæ Elisię maculā iure merito poterit inurere, cū eius abstrusas opes & divitias, & pulchritudinē hactenus reconditā, nemo adhuc penitus scrutatus fuerit? Abeant quo digni sunt socordes illi fuci, & homines ad ventrem & gulam tantum proni, qui inde redeuntes, illorum vestigia secuti sunt, qui à Mose missi exploratum terram melle & lacte affluentē illius infamiā falsò euulgarunt. Iudex rerū omniū tēpus, diligēsq; tuorum ministrorū inquisitio, multa inopinata, quæ adhuc latent, modo Deus intersit, nobis aperiēt: Deum autē adfuturū nō est cur dubites, quandoquidē de ipsius gloria, animarū infinitarū salute, Reipub. Christianę incremento agitur. Eia ergo age ut cœpisti, & æterna tui nominis ac famæ apud posteros, quæ nulla vnquā oblitterabit ætas, relinque monumēta. Nihil enim ad posteros gloriosius nec honorificētius trāsmitti potest, quàm Barbaros domare, rudes & paganos ad vitæ civilis societatem revocare, efferos in gyrū rationis reducere, hominésq; atheos & à Deo alienos divini numinis reverentia imbuere. Eoque magis hoc nostro miserrimo & plusquā calamitoso sæculo, quando in Mahumetęorum cōmodum & incrementū maxima pars Christianorum procerum domesticis dissidiis acerrimē intēta ciuiles tumultus & tragœdias Thyestęas quotidie idq; sine fine accumulant. Quod si ex tuis non usque adeo male auspicatis initiis hoc proxime elapso triēnij spacio tanta accessio facta sit ad nominis tui existimationem, ut non modo domi sed & foris etiam à viris egregiis, intérq; alios ab ornatissimo & doctissimo Basanerio meo tuæ laudes certatim celebrētur: quid post hac quęso futurum putabis, cum rebus tuis præclarè gerendis amplam adeo scribendi materiam ingenio præstantibus sis indies magis magisque præbiturus? Rumpatur Zoilus, nec te permoveant venenata iniquorum & invidorum iacula, qui canem Aesopicum imitati, nec ipsi commodo præsentē fruuntur, nec aliis frui cupientibus acquiescunt. Perge, inquam, perge quo pede cœpisti, fortunæ sinciput fortunatū apprehende, immortalem tibi gloriam oblatam ne respue, tibique Ferdinandi Cortesij Castellani, Nouę Hispanię Domitoris fortissimi res gestę hic pulcherrime descriptæ semper in auribus canora voce resonent, nec minus noctes insomnes tibi reddant, quàm Themistocli gloriosa Miltiadis trophæa. Id

modò præstiteris, si non Homerū, at Martyrē aliquē, id est, fœlicissimū aliquod ingenium tandem aliquando consequeris, quod tuos conatus plane heroicos à vasto oblivionis hiatu vindicabit. Interea huius laboris nostri tu herēs esto, erisque posthac, si quid in hoc scribēdi genere à nobis laude dignū perficietur. Conabimur autem, annuente numine, maritimos hominum nostrorum commentarios sparsos & hactenus squallore obsitos, diligenti temporum serie observata, in ordinem redigere, & pulvere excusso, in lucem brevi spectandos producere, quo posterī maiorum suorum indices, quibus diu caruerunt, diligenter intuētes, hæreditario suo bono frui cognoscant, & serò oblatam rei bene gerendæ occasionem arripiant. Hoc si præstiterimus, diuturni nostri desiderij & voti exoptati compotes erimus; sin minus, saltem iuvandi studium nobis non defuisse testabimur. Vale vir magnanime, & nos, ut facis, ama. Parisiis octavo Kalendas Martij. 1587.

Amplitudinis tuæ studiosissimus,

*Richardus Hakluytus,*

Oxoniensis Anglus.

### *Translation*

To the illustrious and right worthy SIR WALTER RALEGH, Knight, Lord Warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Exeter and of all the Queen's Majesty's castles in those provinces, greeting!

I hold those worthy of the highest praise, illustrious and noble Knight, who by their labours and by the hazard of their lives have made known to our peoples such an infinite number of the Antipodes,<sup>1</sup> hitherto lying hid. And those, who, of their excellent genius, have recorded the noble deeds of such men, on the imperishable monuments of letters, I consider must be held, if not in greater, certainly in no less honour, and must be no less esteemed. Not undeservedly, therefore, ought the memory of that outstanding man Peter Martyr Anglerius of Milan to be particularly sacred and precious to every right-thinking indi-

<sup>1</sup> The peoples at the opposite ends of the earth.

vidual. For he has published to the whole Christian world in his learned commentaries all that the Spaniards have achieved, whether praise- or blame-worthy, in a space of four and thirty years, on land and on sea, partly in the discovery of the vast regions of the New World, partly in subjecting them to the power of Castile, starting his account from the very first beginnings, and diligently preserving both the careful description of places, and the succession of events. Nor does he relate his facts disjointedly as most others have done, nor in a language, as most often happens, unknown to educated men, nor baldly or frigidly, but he depicts with a distinguished and skilful pen and with lively colours in a most gifted manner the head, neck, breast, arms, in brief the whole body of that tremendous entity America, and clothes it decently in the Latin dress familiar to scholars. And so often as the events themselves demand he examines the hidden causes of things, inquires into the hidden effects of nature, and from the innermost shrines of his erudite philosophy he draws comments which he frequently introduces like brilliant ornaments of his style and the fairest of gems. If we consider what he says of the things that the land produces, the vigour of the herbs, the fruitfulness of the fruit-bearing trees, the strength of the spices, the increase of the fields, the excellence of the metals, the ways of the four-footed animals, the generation of the birds, the nature of the fishes, the birth, increase, age, life and properties of almost all animate things, not Aristotle, or Theophrastus, not Columella, not even Pliny himself, ever composed anything more learned or more accurate than our own Martyr. If turning aside from the plants of the earth and the brutes of the field, we consider what he says of mankind and our own species, what Cicero, what Sallust, what Caesar or Tacitus has written with greater elegance, brevity, lucidity or more weightily or with greater fidelity of the manners of peoples, the positions of cities, the foundations of colonies, the cults of idols, the rites of sacrifice, the passions of war, the kinds of armaments, the feuds of neighbours, the jealousies of families, the results of battles, the states and the changes of kingdoms? Not to mention those matters which of themselves are clear enough, the most fruitful argument for his fidelity is



this, that setting aside and discounting the passions of love, hope and jealousy and the contemptible affections of the partisan, he never fails to give to each his due, dissembling the faults of no man, not even of his greatest friend, and minimising no man's just renown. In many passages he praises the constancy of the Spaniards and their stubborn spirit, and with the warmest approbation he recounts their endurance in thirst, hunger, dangers, toils, watches, and in their frequent troubles. But, at the same time, he also records their avarice, ambition, butchery, rapine, debauchery, their cruelty towards defenceless and harmless peoples, and occasionally the disasters suffered by their warriors and the slaughter of their armies at the hands of uncivilised races, and those too unarmed, and, so far is he from the suspicion of adulation, that he hunts out with the utmost perseverance crimes committed by them. I am ashamed, he says in one place, to recount these matters, but it is essential to set down the truth. And now if we proceed from dry land to the sea, how great is the number and the quality of the weighty judgements and observations which offer themselves repeatedly in his work, on the movement of Ocean, its saltness, its ebb and flow, its whirlpools and eddies, its circular course towards the West, its hidden rocks, shallows, and shoals. Finally if we ascend straight to the heavens, who has described more divinely than he, the diversities of climates, the varieties of the winds, the ragings of typhoons, and the changes of the seasons, cold, hot, dry, wet, with the hidden movements of the stars and their influences? Wherefore I can truly say, what once Alexander of Macedon is reported to have said of invincible Achilles: O happy man, who hast found a Homer to be the herald of thy praises, I can say of the Spanish people: O blessed and thrice happy you men of Spain, who have gotten Martyr,—a man of marvellous genius, excelling by his use of the greatest qualities, mature in judgement, equipped with a cyclopaedic knowledge of almost every field of learning—to be the trumpeter of your labours in the West Indies, and of your spirited and courageous achievements. To adapt Naso's lines:

...Who would know the Indies of the West  
Were Martyr's ageless work unmanifest?

This work of an author, whose powers and qualities are such as I have described, though almost the half of it was missing and had been bitterly mourned by certain eminent men as lost completely under an unlucky star, I have at last, after conducting the most diligent researches, been able to publish in its entirety,<sup>1</sup> restored, if I am not mistaken, to its original splendour. For quite apart from the correction, carried out with the greatest pains, of the infinity of errors in which the Complutensian edition<sup>2</sup> abounded in every part, for only once has the work been entrusted to the hands of the printers in Spain (and this edition I had perforce to use, as the last four Decades occur in no other place than this) apart from such correction I have added in the margins, after a careful study of the chronology, the dates and certain other notes very necessary to the student, and I have prepared and included a full and accurate index for all the books; I have not stopped at this, but I have inserted a geographical map,<sup>3</sup> containing the chief places mentioned in the work, to serve as a plumb-line, mindful of the true saying, that geography is the eye of history. I took this burden upon myself for the following reasons: it was partly that learned and industrious men, who have no knowledge, or only a little of the Spanish and Italian tongues, in which practically all works dealing with this subject, this present work alone excepted, are obscured, should not be deprived of so great and so abundant a boon; and partly that other maritime races, and in particular our own island race, perceiving how the Spaniards began and how they progressed, might be inspired to a like emulation of courage. For he who proclaims the praises of foreigners, rouses his own countrymen, if they be not dolts. Add too that here they may find a homely and familiar example of their own native quality. For here they will read that Sebastian Cabot is thrice mentioned as the discoverer of Baccalaos, and that it is notorious that under the auspices of Henry VII, wisest and most fortunate ancestor of our own mighty Elizabeth, in the year 1496, accompanied by three hundred Englishmen, he, first of all Christian people, dis-

<sup>1</sup> Usually the first three Decades alone were printed.

<sup>2</sup> Published in 1530.

<sup>3</sup> See *infra*, p. 369 n.

covered the whole tract of land which stretches from the North Pole to the latitude of the Pillars of Hercules, which is the thirty-sixth degree, and to the longitude of the Island of Cuba, and that this same man, enticed to Spain from England by His Catholic Majesty Ferdinand, by the offer of ample reward, was made a fellow-member of the Council of the Indies with Martyr. How great a disaster the defection of so great a man from our country was, Henry VIII our invincible King, advised after some time by certain of his counsellors, quickly perceived—such was his judgement—and he recalled him immediately, in secret, and honoured him with a permanent pension, and, had not death unexpectedly prevented it, he intended to fit him out with a magnificent fleet and all necessary supplies, and to send him off at the first opportunity to explore more thoroughly those new countries, which though he had brought off with him three of the inhabitants he had nevertheless not investigated in sufficient detail.<sup>1</sup> But this task it seems, most honoured Knight, divine Providence has reserved for you. To you therefore I propose to offer and to dedicate these labours of mine. For to whom should I offer these *Decades of the New World* but to you, whose recent record shows that you have spent nearly 100,000 ducats in equipping your new fleets for the establishment of a third colony to open up countries before unknown and inaccessible? To you, whose every care, every thought and endeavour strive towards this one end, meditate upon it, cling to it? To you whose enthusiasms, whose affections, whose mental urge to seek out new kingdoms over land and sea are one with those of our famous hero, Charles Howard, a second Neptune of the Ocean, and brother-in-law of Edward Stafford, our most prudent Ambassador to his most Christian Majesty? Ever since you perceived that skill in the navigator's art, the chief ornament of an island kingdom, might attain its splendour amongst us if the aid of the mathematical sciences were enlisted, you have maintained in your household Thomas Hariot, a man pre-eminent in those studies, at a most liberal salary in order that by his aid you might acquire those noble sciences in your leisure

<sup>1</sup> This must have been the expedition from Milford Haven in which Roger Barlow was to take part. (See Hak. Soc. vol. XLIX. p. lii.)

hours, and that your own sea-captains, of whom there are not a few, might link theory with practice, not without almost incredible results. What will shortly be the outcome of this excellent and most prudent departure of yours, even those whose judgement is no more than moderate will undoubtedly be able to divine with ease. This one thing I know, and that is that you are entering upon the one and only method by which first the Portuguese and then the Spaniards at last carried out to their own satisfaction what they had previously attempted so often at no slight sacrifice. Continue then to adorn the Sparta that you have won, proceed to add to your fleet which you maintain so splendidly that ship, that more than Argo, apt for a thousand hopes, constructed on a more than regal scale, which you have now happily completed. Reveal to us the courts of China and the unknown straits<sup>1</sup> which still lie hid: throw back the portals which have been closed since the world's beginning at the dawn of time. There yet remain for you new lands, ample realms, unknown peoples; they wait yet, I say, to be discovered and subdued, quickly and easily, under the happy auspices of your arms and enterprise, and the sceptre of our most serene Elizabeth, Empress—as even the Spaniard himself admits—of the Ocean. But to what end do I apply the spur to the racer, or panting behind, urge on the headlong leader? To what end do I exhort you or admonish you to persist in your project, when only recently you sent me letters from Court in which you freely swore that no terrors, no personal losses or misfortunes could or would ever tear you from the sweet embraces of your own Virginia, that fairest of nymphs—though to many insufficiently well known,—whom our most generous sovereign has given you to be your bride? If you persevere only a little longer in your constancy, your bride will shortly bring forth new and most abundant offspring, such as will delight you and yours, and cover with disgrace and shame those who have so often dared rashly and impudently to charge her with barrenness. For who has the just title to attach such a stigma to your Elizabeth's Virginia, when no one has yet probed the depths of her hidden resources and wealth, or her beauty hitherto concealed from our

<sup>1</sup> Strait of Anian.

sight? Let them go where they deserve, foolish drones, mindful only of their bellies and gullets, who fresh from that place, like those whom Moses sent to spy out the promised land flowing with milk and honey, have treacherously published ill reports about it.<sup>1</sup> Time which is the judge of all things, and the diligent inquiry of your servants will reveal, God willing, many things undreamt of, which have ere this lain hid. That God will be with you, you have no reason to doubt, for his glory, the salvation of countless souls, and the increase of the Kingdom of Christ is at stake. Up then, go on as you have begun, leave to posterity an imperishable monument of your name and fame, such as age will never obliterate. For to posterity no greater glory can be handed down than to conquer the barbarian, to recall the savage and the pagan to civility, to draw the ignorant within the orbit of reason, and to fill with reverence for divinity the godless and the ungodly. And this is the truer in our present wretched and more than disastrous age, when, to the increase and advantage of the followers of Mahomet, the greater part of the Christian princes fiercely intent on their own domestic dissensions heap up civil tumults and Thyestean tragedies day by day, and without any end. But if, in the space of the three years which have just elapsed,<sup>2</sup> from beginnings not evilly inspired like those, your fame has won so large an increase, that not only at home but also abroad many notable persons—and among them my most cultivated and learned friend Basanier—vie with each other in singing your praises: what, I ask, do you think will be the case after this, when by carrying out the tasks you have set yourself, you will furnish such ample material, increasing daily, for writers of outstanding genius? Let Zoilus forth burst,<sup>3</sup> but do not let the envenomed shafts of your enemies and rivals trouble you, who like Aesop's dog will neither themselves enjoy the present opportunity, nor allow others to do so, who are desirous thereof. Go on, I say, follow the path on which you have already set foot, seize Fortune's lucky jowl, spurn not the immortal fame which is here offered you, but let the doughty deeds of Ferdinand Cortes, the Castilian, the stout conqueror of New

<sup>1</sup> The disappointed colonists of 1585/6.

<sup>2</sup> Since the spring of 1584.

<sup>3</sup> Personifying the carping critic.

Spain, here beautifully described, resound ever in your ears and let them make your nights not less sleepless than did those of Themistocles the glorious triumphs of Miltiades. Do this, and you will find at length, if not a Homer, yet some Martyr—by whom I mean some happy genius—to rescue your heroic enterprises from the vasty maw of oblivion. Meanwhile do you be the heir—and you will be henceforth—of this our present toil, if there be anything achieved by us in this manner of writing which is worthy of praise. We shall endeavour moreover, with heaven's help, to collect in orderly fashion the maritime records of our own countrymen, now lying scattered and neglected, and brushing aside the dust bring them to the light of day in a worthy guise,<sup>1</sup> to the end that posterity, carefully considering the records of their ancestors which they have lacked so long, may know that the benefits they enjoy they owe to their fathers, and may at last be inspired to seize the opportunity offered to them of playing a worthy part. If we succeed in this, we shall have achieved a long-cherished desire and a wish that we have often prayed for; if we fall short of this, we shall at any rate show that the desire to please was not lacking. Farewell, noble Sir, and continue in your affection for us.

Paris, 22 February, 1587.

Your worship's most obedient servant

*Richard Hakluyt,*  
of Oxford, Englishman<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The first announcement of the *Principal Navigations*.

<sup>2</sup> The *Decades* were licensed on Feb. 4, but publication was delayed for the sake of the map, specially drawn by an unknown F. G., which was not ready until May. The Dedicatory Inscription runs as follows: "Doctiss. et ornatiss. Rich. Hakluyte, F.G.S. Cui potius quam tibi Orbem hanc novum dicassem? Cum tu assiduus eruditique libris tuis ipsum eundem in dies illustriorem reddes. Eum igitur uti tua humanitate dignum est accipe, teque nos vicissim amabimus. Paris. cal. Maij. MDLXXXVII". A copy of this map was sent to St Malo by John Growte, a friend of Hakluyt's, to a kinsman there, with a request for documents relating to Jacques Cartier. It was shown to Cartier's grand-nephew, who compared it with his transcript of Cartier's chart which his two sons were about to take with them to Canada. This man, Jean Noel, then wrote to Growte for a copy of the map for himself, together with a copy of Espeio's *Viaje*.

## Document 57

### WILL OF RICHARD HACKLUYT, OF EYTON,

Lawyer, 1587

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I Richard Hackluyt of Eyton in the Countie of Hereford, being hole of bodie and sounde of mynde, yet consideringe the mortall state of man and the pestilent fevers soe commonly raigneinge, make this my last will and testament in maner [following]

First I bequeathe my sowle redeemed by the mearitts and passions & death of Jesus Christ [the Saviour of the] Worlde, to the same Christe that is deyd, buried, risen and ascended, and that shall be the Judge of all Nations under heaven. My body I bequeath to the earthe till the general resurrection [when] bodie and sowle shall joyne to everlastinge salvacion.

My funeralls without pompe discharged, and my debtes duely paid, my Plate, corne [cattle, howsehold] stuff with all my goods and chattels whatsoever, I bequeath according to a schedule of [bequests] hereafter to this my last will to be annexed.

My lands that bee in my disposicion to bequeathe, late leased to Edmund Burrop, and to Thomas Goold [son] of Thomas Gold, commonly called Burrops fearme, lying in Eyton, and in the fyelds of the same [parish] of Luston in the County of Hereford, I bequeathe & give to Olyver Hackluyt of Christ Church Oxford, my uncles sonne, and to the heyres males of his bodie lawfully begotten, and for lacke of suche yssue I give and bequeath the same to Edmond Hackeluytt his brother and to the heires males of his body lawfully begotten, and for lacke of suche yssue male to Richard Hackeluyt their elder brother and the heyres males of his body lawfully begotten, and for the lacke of such yssue to Wynifride mysister, wife to Roger Bruton of Hal—in the County of Saloppe, esquire, and to her heirs, to dispose at her will and pleasure to any of my name that shall possesse the rest of my lands in Eyton, if any shalbe founde thriftie, or otherwise to bestow them at her good will & pleasure. The rest

of my landes unbequeathed lyinge in quilletts<sup>1</sup> and [any] heer-  
after that shall be purchased, I bequeathe to Olyver Hackluyt,  
Edmond Hackluyt and to Richard Hackluyt and to Wynifreid  
Bruton and to the heyres males of their bodies in manner and  
forme as is lymytted in the guyfte of Burropps farme.

In witnes whereof I have sette my hande and seale this xiiijth  
of September 1587 and ordeigne [and] make sole executor of  
this my laste will and testament Olyver Hackluyt of Christ  
Church Oxeford aforesaid.<sup>2</sup>

The schedule that I appointe to bee annexed to my last will  
and testament.

First I bequeathe to Barbera Evissham my youngeste sister  
the somme of v li in money.

Then, to my eldest and beste beloved Sister, Wyniefried  
Bruton, if she chaunce to overlyve her husband, my goblet of  
sylver remayneing at my sister Elnor Conisbies.

Item, to Elnor Conesbie my sister one dozen of silver spones

Item, to Thomas Conesbie, her sonne, one other dozen of  
silver spones

Item, I also gyve and bequeathe to Barbara my said syster my  
smaler saltesellar of silver

Item, to Olyver Hackluyt of Christ Church in Oxford my  
greater saltsellar of sylver

Item, I bequeath to Richard Fenmor such waiges as I owe him  
with fortie shillinges in money over and besides

Item, I give to Ellnor Burrope my servante also other fortie  
shillinges with all her waiges due at my death, with a course paier  
of sheetes, a corse peyer of blanketts, a canvas and one of the  
coverlets made by Benettes wief of Leompster.

[Proved, March 4th, 1591]

<sup>1</sup> Strips scattered in the open fields. The three great fields in the Manor  
of Eyton had areas of 249, 148 and 124 acres respectively, and there were  
nearly 59 acres of meadow by the River Lugg. Three lesser fields of  
70-90 acres, and some small outlying fields made up a total of 837 acres of  
which 556 were in Hakluyt's possession. This represented 29 acres less  
than he had inherited from his father, Thomas Hakluyt. Burrop's Farm  
was 120 acres. A terrier of the Manor or Township in Hakluyt's own  
handwriting, made between 1572 and 1583, is preserved among the Harleian  
MSS. (7369). References to Mr Depden indicate that his stepmother's  
husband was then still a Magistrate. See Plate III.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Hakluyt was abroad when this will was made. Oliver was still  
unmarried, and at Oxford. Thomas was dead, and buried at Oxford.



## Document 58

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR WALTER RALEGH BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1587<sup>1</sup>

To the Right Worthie and Honorable Gentleman, SIR WALTER RALEGH knight, seneschal of the Duchies of Cornewall and Exeter, and L. Warden of the stannaries in Devon and Cornewall. R.H. wisheth true felicitie.

Sir, after that this historie, which had bene conceled many yeeres, was lately committed to print and published in France under your name by my learned friende M. Martine Basanier of Paris, I was easilie enduced to turne it into English, understanding that the same was no lesse gratefull to you here, then I know it to be acceptable to manie great & worthie persons there. And no marvell though it were verie welcome unto you, & that you liked of the translation thereof, since no historie hetherto set forth hath more affinitie, resemblance or conformitie with yours of Virginea, then this of Florida. But calling to minde that you had spent more yeares in France then I, and understande the french better then my selfe, I foorthwith perceived that you approved mine endeavour, not for any private ease or commoditie that thereby might redounde unto you, but that it argued a singuler and especiall care you had of those, which are to be employed in your owne like enterprise, whom, by the reading of this my translation, you woulde have forewarned and admonished aswell to beware of the grosse negligence in providing sufficiencie of victuals, the securitie, disorders, and mutinies that fell out among the french, with the great inconveniences that thereupon ensued, that by others mishaps they might learne to prevent and avoyde the like, as also might bee put in minde, by the reading of the manifolde commodities & great fertilitie of the places herein at large described & so nere neighbors unto our colonies, that

*Other mens  
misfortune  
ought to be  
our warning.*

<sup>1</sup> Prefixed to the English translation of Laudonnière and erroneously dated May 1 in the reprint in the *Principal Navigations*; see *infra*, p. 373 n. The reprint has been edited in minor particulars.

they might generally be awaked and stirred up unto the diligent observation of everie thing that might turne to the advancement of the action; whereinto they are so cheerefully entred. Manie speciall pointes concerning the commodities of these parts, the accidentes of the French-mens government therein, the causes of their good or bad successe, with the occasions of their abandoning one of their fortes, and the surprise of the other by the enimies are herein truely and faithfully recorded: Which because they he quoted by me in the margents, and reduced into a large alphabeticall table, which I have annexed to the ende of the worke, it shalbe needlesse to reckon up againe. And that the rather, because the same with divers other things of chiefest importance are lively drawn in coulours at your no smale charges by the skilfull painter James Morgues, yet living in the Blacke-fryers in London (whom Monsieur Chastillon then admirall of France sent thither with Laudonniere for that purpose) which was an eye-witnesse of the goodnes & fertilitie of those regions, & hath put downe in writing many singularities which are not mentioned in this treatise: which he meaneth to publish together with the purtraitures before it be long, if it may stand with your good pleasure & liking. These foure voiajes I knew not to whom I might better offer then to your selfe, & that for divers just considerations. First, for that as I have said before, they were dedicated unto you in french: secondly because now foure times also you have attempted the like upon the selfe same cost neere adioyning: thirdly in that you have persed as farre up into the maine & discovered no lesse secretes in the parts of your abroad, then the french did in the places of their inhabiting: lastly considering you are now also readie (upon the late returne of Captayne Stafforde<sup>1</sup> and good newes which hee brought you of the safe arrivall of your last colonie in their wished haven) to prosecute this action more thoroughly then ever. And here to speake somewhat of this your enterprise, I affirme, that if the same may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will proove farre more beneficiall in divers respects unto this our

*The chiefe things worthie observation in Florida are drawne in colours by James Morgues painter yet living in the Blacke Friers in London.*

<sup>1</sup> Stafford returned in October 1587, his voyage constituting the fourth "attempt" upon Virginia mentioned above. This puts the date of the Preface not earlier than October.

*A collection  
of the com-  
modities of  
Virginea.*

*Meanes to  
raise benefit  
in newe dis-  
coveries used  
by the  
Spaniards  
and  
Portugals.*

relme, then the worlde, yea manie of the wiser sort, have hither-  
to imagined: The particuler commodities whereof are well  
knownen unto your selfe and some fewe others, and are faithfully  
and with great iudgement committed to writing, as you are not  
ignorant, by one of your followers, which remayned there a full  
twelvemonth with your worshipfull lieutenant M. Raph Lane in  
the diligent serch of the secretes of those countries.<sup>1</sup> Touching  
the speedie and effectuall pursuing of your action, though I  
wote well it woulde demaunde a princes purse to have it throughly  
followed without lingring, yet am I of opinion, that you shall  
drawe the same before it bee long to be profitable and gainefull  
aswell to those of our nation there remaining, as to the marchants  
of England that shall trade hereafter thither, partly by certaine  
secrete cōmodities already discovered by your servants, &  
partly by breeding of divers sorts of beasts in those large &  
ample regions, & planting of such things in that warme climat  
as will best prosper there, & our realme standeth most in need of.  
And this I find to have bene the course that both the Spaniards  
and Portugals tooke in the beginnings of their discoveries and  
conquestes. For the Spaniards at their first entrance into  
Hispaniola found neither suger-canes nor ginger growing there,  
nor any kind of our cattel: But finding the place fit for pasture  
they sent kine & buls & sundry sorts of other profitable bestes  
thither, & transported the plants of suger-canes, & set the roots  
of ginger: the hides of which oxen, with suger & ginger are now  
the chiefe marchandise of that Iland. The Portugals also at their  
first footing in Madera, as John Barros writes in his first Decade,  
found nothing there but mightie woodes for timber, whereupon  
they called the Ilande by that name. Howbeit the climate being  
favourable, they inriched it by their own industrie with the best  
wines and sugars of the world. The like maner of proceeding  
they used in the Isles of the Assores by sowing therin great  
quantitie of Woad. So delt they in S. Thomas under the  
Equinoctial, & in Brasil & sondry other places. And if our men  
will follow their steps, by your wise direction I doubt not but in  
due time they shall reape no lesse commoditie and benefit.  
Moreover there is none other likelihoode but that her Maiestie,

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Hariot's *True Report*.

which hath Christned and given the name to your Virginea, if neede require, will deale after the maner of honorable god-mothers, which, seeing their gossops<sup>1</sup> not fully able to bring up their children themselves, are wont to contribute to their honest education, the rather if they finde any towardlines or reasonable hope of goodnes in them. And if Elizabeth Queene of Castile and Arragon, after her husband Ferdinando & shee had emptied their cofers and exhausted their treasures in subdueing the kingdome of Granada & rooting the Mores, a wicked weed, out of Spayne, was neverthesse so zealous of Gods honour, that (as Fernandus Columbus the Sonne of Christopher Columbus recordeth in the historie of the deeds of his Father) she layde part of her owne Jewels, which she had in great accompt, to gage, to furnish his Father foorth upon his first voyage, before any foot of land of al the West Indies was discovered, what may we expect of our most magnificent & gracious prince Elizabeth of Englande, into whose lappe the Lord hath most plentifully throwne his treasures, what may we, I say, hope of her forwardnes & bountie in advancing of this your most honourable enterprise being farre more certaine then that of Columbus, at that time especially, and tending no lesse to the glorie of God then that action of the Spaniards. For as you may read in the verie last wordes of the relation of Newe Mexico extant now in english,<sup>2</sup> the maine lande, where your last colonie meane to seate themselves, is replenished with many thousands of Indians, Which are of better wittes then those of Mexico and Peru, as hath beene found by those that have had some triall of them: whereby it may be gathered that they will easilie embrace the Gospell, forsaking their idolatrie, wherein at this present for the most part they are wrapped & intangled. A wise Philosopher noting the sundry desires of divers men, writeth, that if an ox be put into a meadow he will seeke to fill his bellie with grasse, if a storke be cast in she will seeke for snakes, if yee turne in a hound he will seeke to start an hare: So sondrie men entring into these discoveries propose unto themselves severall ends. Some seeke authoritie and places of commandement, others experience by seeing of the worlde, the most part worldly and transitorie gaine,

*The great zeale of Elizabeth queene of Castile and Arragon in advancing of newe discoveries tending to Gods glorie.*

*The aptnes of the people in the mayne of Virginea to embrace Christianitie.*

2. Cor. 12. 14.

Iosue 1. 6.

*The good  
successe in  
Ireland of  
Richarde  
Stranghowe  
earle of  
Chepstowe.*

& that often times by dishonest and unlawfull meanes, the fewest number the glorie of God and the saving of the soules of the poore & blinded infidels. Yet because divers honest and well disposed persons are entred already into this your busines, and that I knowe you meane hereafter to sende some such good Churchmen thither, as may truely saie with the Apostle to the Savages, We seeke not yours but you: I conceive great comfort of the successe of this your action, hoping that the Lord, whose power is wont to be perfected in weakenes, will blesse the feeble foundations of your building. Onely bee you of a valiant courage and faint not, as the Lorde saide unto Iosue, exhorting him to proceede on forward in the conquest of the lande of promise, and remember that private men have happily wilded and waded through as great enterprises as this, with lesser meanes then those which God in his mercie hath bountifully bestowed upon you, to the singuler good, as I assure my selfe, of this our commonwealth wherein you live. Hereof we have examples domesticall and forreine. Remember I pray you, what you finde in the beginning of the Chronicle of the conquest of Irelande newlie dedicated unto your selfe.<sup>1</sup> Read you not that Richard Strangbowe the decayed earle of Chepstowe in Monmuthshire, being in no great favour of his Sovereigne, passed over into that Iland in the yeere 1171. and accōpanied only with certaine of his private friends had in short space such prosperous successe, that hee opened the way for king Henrie the second to the speedie subiection of all that warlike nation to this crowne of Englande: which so continueth to this present day? The like conqueste of Brasilia and annexing the same to the kingdome of Portugal was first begunne by meane and private men, as Don Antonio de Castillio, Ambassadour here for that realme, & by his office keeper of all the records and monuments of their discoveries, assured me in this citie within these sixe yeeres.<sup>2</sup> Now if the greatnes of the maine of Virginea, and the large extension thereof, especially to the West, should make you thinke that the subduing of it, were a matter of more difficultie then the conquest of Irelande, first I answer, that, as the fresh experience<sup>3</sup> of that

<sup>1</sup> By Sir John Perrot?<sup>2</sup> I.e. in March 1581/2.<sup>3</sup> Davis returned from his third voyage in September 1587.

happie and singuler skilfull pilotte and Captaine M. John Davis to the northwest, (towarde which his discoverie your selfe have thrise contributed with the forwardest) hath shewed a great part to bee maine Sea, where before was thought to bee mayne lande, so for my part I am fully perswaded by Ortelius late reformation of Culuacan and the gulfe of California that the land on the backe part of Virginea extendeth nothing so farre westward as is put downe in the mappes of those partes, and that before two yeeres come to an ende, God blessing the foresaide Captaine Davis endevours, he will put us out of that doubt and manie others. Moreover it is not to bee denied, but that one hundred men will doe more nowe among the naked and unarmed people in Virginea, then one thousande were able then to doe in Irelande against that armed and warrelike nation in those daies. I say further, that these two yeares last experience hath plainly shewed that wee may spare tenne thousand able men without any misse. And these are as manie as the kingdome of Portugal had ever in all their garrisons of the Assores, Madera, Cape verde, Guinea, Brasill, Mozambique, Melinde, Zocotora, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Mallacca, the Moluccoes, Amacan, and Macao upon the cost of China. Yea this I say by the confession of singuler expert men of their owne natiō (whose names I suppress for certaine causes) which have beene personally in the East Indies, and have assured mee that their kings had never above ten thousand natural borne Portugals (their slaves excepted) out of their kingdome remaining in all the aforesaid territories.<sup>1</sup> Which also this present yeere I sawe confirmed in a secrete extract of the particuler estate of that kingdome and of everie government and office subiect to the same, with the severall pensions thereunto belonging. Seeing therefore we are so farre from want of people, that retyring dayly home out of the Lowe Countries they go idle up & downe in swarmes for lacke of honest intertainmēt, I see no fitter place to employ some part of the better sort of them trayned up thus long in service, thē in the inward parts of the firme of Virginea against such stubborne Savages as shall refuse obedience to her Maiestie. And doubtlesse many of our men will be glade & faine to accept this condition, when as by the

*The happie late discoverie to the northwest of captaine Davies.*

*The kings of Portugal had never above ten thousand of their natural subiectes in all their new conquered dominions.*

<sup>1</sup> The followers of Don Antonio with whom Hakluyt conferred in Paris.

reading of this present treatie<sup>1</sup> they shall understand the fertilitie and riches of the regions confining so neere uppon yours, the great commodities and goodnesse whereof I trust you will suffer to come shortly to light.<sup>2</sup> In the meane season I humbly commende my selfe and this my translation unto you, and your selfe, and all those which under you have taken this enterprise in hand to the grace & good blessing of the Almighty, which is able to build further, and to finish the good worke which in these our dayes he hath begunne by your most Christian and charitable endeavour.<sup>3</sup>

Your L. humble at commandement

R. H.

## Document 59

### EXTRACT FROM CAMDEN'S *ANNALS*, 1587

While the Queene and her Councill gently soothe the King [of Spain] with these and such like reasons to the end to prevent the warre which they foresaw threatened from the Spaniard, Drake was sent forth with four of the Queenes ships and some other ships to the coasts of Spaine, to surprise his ships in the havens and interrupt his provision....

At the same time in another quarter of the world, Thomas Cavendish of Suffolke, which had two yeeres before set saile from England with 3 ships, passing the Straits of Magellane, fired many petty townes of the Spaniards upon the coasts of Chily, Peru, and Nova Spagnia.... The particulars of this voyage, if any man desire, let him repaire to the English voyages most exactly described in three volumes of Richard Hackluit.

<sup>1</sup> Treatise.

<sup>2</sup> By publishing Hariot's *Report*.

<sup>3</sup> "From London the 1. of May 1587" is interpolated in the reprint in the *Principal Navigations*.

## Document 60

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO LORD BURGHLEY, 1588

To the right honorable and my very good lord the lord high Treasurer of England give these. At the Courte or elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> May it please yo<sup>r</sup> good lordshippe to understande that wthin eight or ten days after my late returne out of Englande to Paris, the Erle of Westmorland,<sup>2</sup> havinge hearde I knowe not howe of myne arrival, sent a french servant of his twise secretly to seeke mee, and to requeste mee instantly to come to speake a word or two w<sup>th</sup> hym. After the seconde tyme, makinge my lord Ambassador acquaynted withall, I went to knowe his wil, whom I found very desirous to understand yo<sup>r</sup> lordships answere concerning his humble sute unto her Ma<sup>tie</sup>. I told hym howe willing and forward I found yo<sup>r</sup> lordshippe to move her to become his gracious mistresse, and that if I had not bin soe suddenly dispatched, and when y<sup>r</sup> lordship was altogether so leasurelesse that you could not write to S<sup>r</sup> Edward hymselfe,<sup>3</sup> yt was very likely yo<sup>w</sup> wold have returned hym some answere. Whereuppon he earnestly requested mee to write out of hand unto yo<sup>r</sup> lordshippe to beseech yo<sup>w</sup> to have hym in remembrance, and to vouchsafe by one or other meanes to let hym heere somewhat from yo<sup>w</sup> assone as opportunitie and yo<sup>r</sup> good leasure may permitte. This request ended, he shewed mee what unfayned desire he had to do some special piece of service, and told me that Morgan that archtraytour was newly come agayne to Paris aboute some base practise, addinge with diverse deepe othes, that if he might have any good hope from you of her mat<sup>ies</sup> favour (whom he most humblie besought to consider his youth and ignorance of the subtil traynes of the world when he was drawn into his heynous offence) hee would hazard his owne

<sup>1</sup> Endorsed 'April 1588'.

<sup>2</sup> Exiled for his complicity in the Rebellion of the North, 1569.

<sup>3</sup> Stafford.



person and that w<sup>th</sup>out delay to make some notable prooffe to the Queene of his sincere affection to her ma<sup>tie</sup> and his country. Hee told me further that the lord Marshal of Scotland w<sup>ch</sup> had bin in Spayne a greate part of the last yere was newly and secretly gone downe from hence to the Duke of Parma, accompanied only wth the Scot that betrayed Lijre in Brabant. Hee added that he had very good meenes to understand the practises of Spayne by one Higgington an English prieste, w<sup>ch</sup> is at his devotion abydyng in this towne, to whom Sr Francis Englefield doth use to write often matters of importance, w<sup>ch</sup> hee wold from tyme to tyme reveale to me, or such as yo<sup>r</sup> lordshippe shold appoynt hym. Besides al these, he signified unto mee that the Spanish Ambassadour Mendoza, being not able to reade the letters that are sent hym from his M<sup>r</sup> hymselfe, by reason of the greate decay of his sighte, is constrayned to use a yonge man to reade them unto hym, w<sup>th</sup> whom he hath acquayntance, and hopeth to close with hym and drawe matter of weyght from hym.

As for the fleete at Lisbone,<sup>1</sup> he assured me it wold not stirre until the beginnyng of May, yf it did set forth at al. Also it was hee that gave first notice of the late coming from Rome to Rems<sup>2</sup> of Holt and Creswel two English Jesuits.

Thus beseeching the Almighty to blesse yo<sup>r</sup> lordshippe, and al yo<sup>r</sup> good and godly endeavours, in most humble manner I surcease to trouble yo<sup>w</sup> any farther. Paris, the vi<sup>th</sup> of April 1588.

I shal hold myselfe pleased if yo<sup>r</sup> lordship bestowe y<sup>t</sup> wardship of yong Clinton of Herefordshire on my cosen Wigmore.<sup>3</sup>

Yo<sup>r</sup> lordships most humble

*Richard Hakluyt*

<sup>1</sup> The Armada. From Camden's *Annals*: "The Armado, which had been full three yeres in rigging and preparing, with infinite expense, was within one month many times assailed and at length defeated."

<sup>2</sup> Rheims, where was the English Jesuit College.

<sup>3</sup> See *supra*, p. 3.

## Document 61

### EXTRACT FROM DESPATCH FORWARDED BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1588

[6] July 1588.

That my lord had advertisement from a very special friend of his, a man of qualitie continuallie aboute the kinge since his last departure from Paris, That al the cunning in the world hath bin used to bring the king to yeld to three poynts. Videlicit, the abandoninge of the league with the P. of England, the forsaking of the protection of Geneva, and that of Sedan. The strangers that chiefe urged the same were the popes nuncio, the Spanish ambassadour fomentinge the same as much as was possible. The rather to persuade the king hereunto the nuncio assured hym that his holines wold bring the princes of the ligue to any reasonable conditions he wold desire if he wold agree to the former three poyntes: addinge that nothing cold be more for his reputation, and to cut of al the cunning cavillations of the ligue agaynst hym, whereby they charged hym that he favored the kinge of Navarre and shewed hymselfe not hotte agaynst hereticks as he made showe for etc.

[Signed]

*Richard Hakluyt*

## Document 62

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT, Lawyer, TO LORD BURGHELEY, 1589

Right Honourable, I exhibited a petition upon — laste at the Councill table to al yo<sup>r</sup> honors; [and doubting] the same not red by present manifolde bisnesses of gretter weight, and fearing leaste my supplication may be leyd aside and passed over in silence, I thowght (urged with the extremitie of wrong) to be soe bold as to aquenyt yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> w<sup>th</sup> theeffect of my griffe, and also with my humble request, and there in to crave yo<sup>r</sup> honerable favor in the same.

The matter is this that ensueth.

Now ii yeres and a half past I bowght certeyn oxen of grete bone to feede. The same oxen, full fed in the county of Hereforde, were taken up there for hir majesties howschold by one Richard Owen servant to — of the Caterie, being then purveyor by Commission. The oxen soe taken up were prised there in the countie by men of [good repute] that were sworne [for the purpose, and the aforesaid oxen] hereupon were taken up to [London] and there new prised by the commawndment of the officers of hir majesties howseholde.

By the rate of the first prising in Herefordshire, I was to receive 52li. 10s. after the rate of *viii*li. xs. the oxe, for vii. The Cofferers booke now sene, it appeareth that the some of *liiii*li. xs. divided into iij just partes, that I am (*vs*.xd. only excepted) to lose the third part if I have not the helpe of your honor herein.

I have a testimonial under the seale of the corporate towne where my oxen were first prised, that they were fully as moch worth as they were first prised at, or rather more worth.

If these oxen driven up become of never so smawle valewe, yet owght they not to be prised ageyne by any officer in court, in that it is merely ageynst the lawes of the lande. If there were not any soche lawe, yet for as moche as (if these oxen after the first prising grewe to be of lesse value) it groweth by reason of the long

jorneye, and by the overdriving, and by the underfeeding and misdieting of the cattel by the wey, there is no reason nor culler of reason, nor any conscience that the late owner of the cattle shoulde be soe used and charged with soche losse.

The taker that might take upp his appoynted number of oxen of many, and so make the burden more portable to the poor subject, doth let passe thiese and those stawles, and taketh up soe many of some fewe, that they, thus deprived of there stockes ar not abel to bye and renewe theyr stawles the yere folowinge, to theyr grete losses, specially if they have taken growndes at hie rentes for that trade of feeding, the smart whereof I have felt.

The subject noting the mischief of the second prising and the losse that groweth by the want of his stock, the grete trouble that riseth by long journeys to the court for his money, and the fees that arriseth if he wolde be dispatched, doth bribe the purveyor depely to [spare] soe grete mischieves.

The cofferer and his clerkes answer that they have noe money. If they have money, and pay not the same without delays, but turne the same to private profet, then they add affliction to the afflicted subject. Howsoever it is, I am unpaid for vii oxen nowe in the end of this marche or ij whole yeares. And also almost so long for one other stawle fed one, the price of w<sup>ch</sup> oxen answereth to *lviii*li.xs.

I am also to informe yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>r</sup> that there was taken up in lent past iij oxen more out of my stawles for w<sup>ch</sup> iij by the cofferers brothers helpe I have received money howbeit not according to the first rate.

To conclude, my humble sute unto yo<sup>r</sup> hono<sup>rs</sup> of hir Majesties counsel is, that it may please the same that I may be payd for my viij oxen according to the first priseing withowt regard of the second price, since the same is injurious, and since so gracious a prince as hir majestie is, meaneth not to offer wrong to the worst subject she hath. And that also I may be answered the overplus for the iij oxen taken up the lent last past.

20 March 1588

Yo<sup>r</sup> honors to commande

*Richard Hakluyt*

## Document 63

### MEMORANDA RELATIVE TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, LAWYER'S COMPLAINT, 1589

Mensis Martii A<sup>o</sup> regni regine Elizabethe xxx. M<sup>d</sup>. that I JOHN DUDLEY purveyor had provided of M. RICHARD HAKLUYT gentleman of the hundreth of Wolsey iij oxen price the piece *vili. xiijs. iiijd.* Soe prised by Robert Parke, Nicholas Parker, John S. . . , and John Parker.

28 March, 1589.

This gent had xiii<sup>ten</sup> oxen in his stawle to sell, whereof were [taken up] vij, but upon entreaty the Purveyor offered to release 3 of them, but he would not accept thereof unless he might have taken out three of the best, whereby it seemeth he liketh better of the price then of his cattle. . . .

It was justified by the Purveyor before us and himself that they were well driven, dieted and fed upon the way as any other mans cattle were, and not driven above viij miles a day, whereby they might be anything the worse, besides it hath been accustomed time out of mind that all cattle provided and overpriced to be repriced, otherwise her Majestie will be a great loser. . . . It is generally said by many that those which may best spare them are by the Purveyors forborne, yet none of the countrey will give him information where he may best take them, or can charge him with taking of bribes for forbearing their cattle.

## Document 64

### CONTRIBUTIONS BY RICHARD HAKLUYT TO THE *PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS* 1589

The voyage of Sir THOMAS PERT, and SEBASTIAN CABOT, about the eight yeere of King Henry the eight, which was the yere 1516. to Brasil, Santo Domingo, and S. Juan de Puerto rico.

That learned and painefull writer Richard Eden in a certaine Epistle of his to the duke of Northumberland, before a worke which he translated out of Munster in the yeere 1553, called A treatise of new India, maketh mention of a voyage of discoverie undertaken out of England by sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabota, about the 8. yere of King Henry the eight of famous memorie, imputing the overthrow thereof unto the cowardise and want of stomack of the said Sir Thomas Pert, in maner following. If manly courage, saith he, (like unto that which hath bene seene & proved in your Grace, as well in forreine realmes, as also in this our countrey) had not bene wanting in other in these our dayes, at such time as our soveraigne lord of famous memorie king Henry the 8. about the same yeere of his raigne, furnished and sent out certaine shippes under the governance of Sebastian Cabot yet living and one Sir Thomas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voyage tooke none effect; if, I say, such manly courage, whereof wee have spoken, had not at that time beene wanting, it might happily have come to passe, that that rich treasure called Perularia, (which is nowe in Spaine in the cite of Sivill, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the newfoundland of Peru) might long since have beene in the tower of London, to the kings great honour and wealth of this realme.<sup>1</sup> Hereunto that also is to bee referred which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne wrote to the sayde king Henry the 8. in the yeere 1527.<sup>2</sup> by

<sup>1</sup> This voyage, planned by John Rastall, is discussed by J. A. Williamson, *Voyages of the Cabots*.

<sup>2</sup> The Address was of later date. See E. G. R. Taylor, Hak. Soc. vol. LXIX, p. xliii.

doctor Leigh his ambassadour sent into Spaine to the Emperour Charles the fift, whose wordes bee these. Now rest to be discovered the North parts, the which it seemeth unto me, is onely your highnes charge and dutie, because the situation of this your realme is thereunto neerest and aptest of all other: and also, for that already you have taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leave so great and profitable an enterprise, seeing it may so easily and with so litle cost, labour and danger be followed and obtained. Though hitherto your grace have made thereof a prooffe, & found not the commoditie thereby as you trusted, at this time it shalbe none impediment: for there may be now provided remedies for things then lacked, and the inconveniences and lets remooved, that then were cause your graces desire tooke no full effect: which is, the courses to be changed, and to follow the aforesayd new courses. And concerning the mariners, ships, and provision, an order may be devised and taken meete and convenient, much better then hitherto: by reason whereof, & by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. And whereas in the aforesayd wordes M. Robert Thorne sayth, that he would have the old courses to bee changed, and the newe courses (to the North) to be followed: It may plainly be gathered, that the former voyage, whereof twise or thrise he maketh mention, wherein it is like that sir Thomas Pert and Sebastian Cabot were set foorth by the king, was made toward Brasill and the South parts. Moreover it seemeth that Gonsalvo de Oviedo, a famous Spanish writer, alludeth unto the sayde voyage in the beginning of the 13. chapter of the 19. booke of his generall and natural historie of the West Indies, agreeing very well with the time about which Richard Eden writeth that the foresaid voyage was begun. The authors wordes are these, as I finde them translated into Italian by that excellent and famous man Baptista Ramusius. That in the yeere 1517.<sup>1</sup> an English Rover under the colour of travelling to discover, came with a great shippe unto the parts of Brasill on the coast of the firme land, and from thence he crossed over unto this Iland of Hispaniola, and arrived neere unto the mouth of the haven of this

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt was misled by this faulty date, which should be 1527. Oviedo refers to the ship, believed to be that of John Rut. Cf. *infra*, p. 389.

citie of S. Domingo, and sent his shipboate full of men on shoare, and demaunded leave to enter into this haven, saying that hee came with marchandise to traffique. But at that very instant the governour of the castle Francis de Tapia caused a tire of ordinance to be shot from the castle at the ship, for she bare in directly with the haven. When the Englishmen sawe this, they withdrew themselves out, and those that were in the shipboate, got themselves with all speede on shipboard. And in trueth the warden of the castle committed an oversight: for if the shippe had entred into the haven the men thereof could not have come on lande without leave both of the citie and of the castle. Therefore the people of the ship seeing how they were received, sayled toward the Iland of S. John, and entring into the port of S. Germaine, the English men parled with those of the towne, requiring victuals and things needefull to furnish their ship, and complained of the inhabitants of the city of S. Domingo, saying that they came not to doe any harme, but to trade and traffique for their money and merchandise. In this place they had certaine victuals, and for recompence they gave and paid them with certain vessell of wrought tinne and other things. And afterward they departed toward Europe, where it is thought they arrived not: for wee never heard any more newes of them. Thus farre proceedeth Gonsalvo de Oviedo, who though it please him to call the captain of this great English ship a rover, yet it appeareth by the Englishmens owne words, that they came to discover, and by their traffique for pewter vessell and other wares at the towne of S. Germaine in the Iland of S. John de puerto rico, it cannot bee denied but that they were furnished with wares for honest traffique and exchange. But whosoever is conversant in reading the Portugall and Spanish writers of the East and West Indies, shall commonly finde that they account all other nations for pirats, rovers and theeves, which visite any heathen coast that they have once sayled by or looked on. Howbeit their passionate and ambitious reckoning ought not to bee prejudiciall to other mens chargeable<sup>1</sup> and painefull enterprises and honourable travels in discoverie.

<sup>1</sup> Expensive.



A briefe note concerning a voyage of one THOMAS TISON an English man, made before the yeere 1526. to the West Indies, & of his abode there in maner of a secret factor for some English marchants, which under hand had trade thither in those dayes: taken out of an olde ligier-booke of M. Nicolas Thorne the elder,<sup>1</sup> a worshipfull marchant of Bristol.

It appeareth out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custodie of mee Richard Hakluyt, written 1526. by master Nicolas Thorne the elder, a principall marchant of Bristol, unto his friend and factour Thomas Midnall, and his servant William Ballard at that time remaining at S. Lucar in Andaluzia: that before the sayd yeere one Thomas Tison an Englishman had found the way to the West Indies, and was there resident: unto whom the aforesayd M. Nicolas Thorne sent armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd. This Thomas Tison (so farre as I can conjecture) may seeme to have bene some secret factour for M. Thorne<sup>2</sup> and other English marchants in those remote partes; whereby it is probable that some of our marchants had a kinde of trade to the West Indies even in those ancient times and before also: neither doe I see any reason why the Spaniards should debarre us from it at this present.

The voiage of the two ships, whereof the one was called the *Dominus vobiscum*, set out the 20 day of May in the 19 yeere of king Henry the eight, and in the yeere of our Lord God 1527. for the discoverie of the North partes.

Master Robert Thorne of Bristoll, a notable member and ornament of his countrey, as well for his learning, as great charitie to the poore, in a letter of his to king Henry the 8, and a large discourse to doctor Leigh, his Ambassador to Charles the emperor, (which both are to be seene almost in the beginning of the second part of this my worke) exhorted the foresaid king with

<sup>1</sup> So called to distinguish him from his son Nicholas, who was no doubt known to Hakluyt at Bristol.

<sup>2</sup> Tyson is several times mentioned (e.g. in their wills) as 'a servant' (factor) of the Thornes. The English merchants in Andalusia traded freely with the Atlantic Islands.

very waightie and substantial reasons, to set forth a discoverie even to the North pole. And that it may bee knowen that this his motion tooke present effect, I thought it good herewithall to put downe the testimonies of two of our Chroniclers. M. Hall, and M. Grafton, who both write in this sort. This same moneth (say they) king Henry the 8 sent 2 faire ships well manned & victualled, having in them divers cunning men to seeke strange regions, & so they set forth out of the Thames the 20. day of May in the 19. yeere of his raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord 1527.

And whereas master Hall, and master Grafton say, that in those ships there were divers cunning men, I have made great inquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in navigation, might give me any light to know who those cunning men should be which were the directers in the aforesaid voyage. And it hath bene tolde mee by sir Martin Frobisher, and Master Richard Allen, a knight of the Sepulchre, that a Canon of S. Paul in London, which was a great Mathematician, and a man indued with wealth, did much advaunce the action, and went therein himselfe in person, but what his name was, I cannot learne of any. And further they told mee that one of the ships was called the *Dominus vobiscum*, which is a name likely to bee given by a religious man of those daies: and that sayling very farre North-westward, one of the ships was cast away as it entred into a dangerous gulphe, about the great opening, betweene the North parts of New found land, and the countrey lately called by her Majestie, Meta Incognita. Whereupon the other ship shaping her course towards Cape Britton, and the coastes of Norumbega,<sup>1</sup> and oftentimes putting their men on land to search the state of those unknowen regions, returned home about the beginning of October, of the yeere aforesaid. And thus much (by reason of the great negligence of the writers of those times, who should have used more care in preserving of the memories of the worthie actes of our nation,) is all that hitherto I can learne, or finde out of this voyage.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Arambec' in the edition of 1599.

<sup>2</sup> The voyage of John Rut took place independently of Thorne's recommendations. The documents concerning it which were used by Purchas came too late into Hakluyt's hands. The two ships were the *Samson* and the *Mary Guldford*. One of them reached the West Indies in November 1527.

The voyage of M. HORE and divers other gentlemen, to Newfoundland, and Cape Briton, in the yere 1536 and in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8.

One master Hore of London, a man of goodly stature and of great courage, and given to the studie of Cosmographie, in the 28 yere of king Henry the 8 and in the yere of our Lord 1536 encouraged divers Gentlemen and others, being assisted by the kings favour and good countenance, to accompany him in a voyage of discoverie upon the Northwest parts of America:<sup>1</sup> wherein his perswasions tooke such effect, that within short space many gentlemen of the Innes of court, and of the Chancerie, and divers others of good worship, desirous to see the strange things of the world, very willingly entred into the action with him, some of whose names were as followeth: M. Weekes a gentleman of the West countrey of five hundred markes by the yeere living. M. Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield. M. Thomas Buts the sonne of Sir William Buts knight, of Norfolk, which was lately living, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. M. Hardie, M. Biron, M. Carter, M. Wright, M. Rastall Serjeant Rastals brother, M. Ridley, and divers other, which all were in the Admyrall called the *Trinitie*, a ship of seven score tunnes, wherein M. Hore himselfe was imbarcked. In the other ship whose name was the *Minion*, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman one M. Armigil Wade, Afterwardes Clerke of the Counsailes of king Henry the 8 and king Edward the sixth, father to the worshipfull M. William Wade now Clerke of the privie Counsell, M. Oliver Dawbeney marchant of London, M. Joy afterward gentleman of the Kings Chappel, with divers other of good account. The whole number that went in the two tall ships aforesaid, to wit, the *Trinitie* and the *Minion*,<sup>2</sup> were about sixe score persons, whereof thirty were gentlemen, which all we mustered in warlike maner at Gravesend, and after the receiving of the Sacrament, they embarked themselves in the ende of Aprill. 1536.

<sup>1</sup> Actually it was an ordinary fishing voyage to the Grand Banks, extended for the purpose. See E. G. R. Taylor, *G.J.* vol. 77, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> The second ship was the *William of London*.

From the time of their setting out from Gravesend, they were very long at sea, to witte, above two moneths, and never touched any land untill they came to part of the West Indies about Cape Briton, shaping their course thence Northeastwardes, untill they came to the Island of Penguin, which is very full of rockes and stones, whereon they went and found it full of great foules white and gray, as big as geese, and they saw infinite numbers of their egges. They drave a great number of the foules into their boates upon their sayles, and tooke up many of their egges, the foules they flead and their skinnnes were very like hony combes full of holes being flead off: they dressed and eate them and found them to be very good and nourishing meat. They saw also store of beares both blacke and white, of whome they killed some, and tooke them for no bad foode.

M. Oliver Dawbeny, which (as it is before mentioned) was in this voyage, and in the *Minion*, told M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple these things following:<sup>1</sup> to wit, That after their arrivall in Newfoundland, and having bene there certaine dayes at ancre, and not having yet seene any of the naturall people of the countrey, the same Dawbeney walking one day on the hatches, spied a boate with Savages of those parts, rowing downe the Bay toward them, to gaze upon the ship and our people, and taking vewe of their comming aloofe, hee called to such as were under the hatches, and willed them to come up if they would see the natural people of the countrey, that they had so long and so much desired to see: whereupon they came up, and tooke vewe of the Savages rowing toward them and their ship, and upon the vewe they manned out a ship-boat to meet them and to take them. But they spying our ship-boat making towards them, returned with maine force and fled into an Island that lay up in the Bay or river there, and our men pursued them into the Island, and the Savages fledde and escaped: but our men found a fire, and the side of a beare on a wooden spit left at the same by the Savages that were fled.

There in the same place they found a boote of leather garnished on the outward side of the calfe with certaine brave

<sup>1</sup> The younger Hakluyt had this story only at second hand, Dawbeney being now dead.

trailes, as it were of rawe silke, and also found a certaine great warme mitten: And these caryed with them, they returned to their shippe, not finding the Savages, nor seeing any thing else besides the soyle, and the things growing in the same, which chiefly were store of firre and pine trees.

And further, the said M. Dawbeny told him, that lying there they grew into great want of victuals, and that there they found small reliefe, more then that they had from the nest of an Osprey, that brought hourelly to her yong great plentie of divers sorts of fishes. But such was the famine that increased amongst them from day to day, that they were forced to seeke to relieve themselves of raw herbes and rootes that they sought on the maine: but the famine increasing, and the reliefe of herbes being to little purpose to satisfie their insatiable hunger, in the fieldes and deserts here and there, the fellowe killed his mate while he stooped to take up a roote for his reliefe, and cutting out pieces of his bodie whom he had murthered, broyled the same on the coles and greedily devoured them.<sup>1</sup>

By this meane the company decreased, and the officers knew not what was become of them; And it fortunied that one of the company driven with hunger to seeke abroad for reliefe found out in the fieldes the savour of broyled flesh, and fell out with one for that he would suffer him and his fellowes to sterve, enjoying plentie as he thought: and this matter growing to cruell speeches, he that had the broyled meate, burst out into these wordes: If thou wouldest needes know, the broyled meate that I had was a piece of such a mans buttocke. The report of this brought to the ship, the Captaine found what became of those that were missing, & was perswaded that some of them were neither devoured with wilde beastes, nor yet destroyed with Savages: And hereupon hee stood up and made a notable Oration, containing, Howe much these dealings offended the Almighty, and vouched the Scriptures from first to last, what God had in cases of distresse done for them that called upon him, and told them that the power of the Almighty was then no lesse, then in al former time it had bene. And added, that if it had not pleased God to have holpen them in that distresse, that

<sup>1</sup> The story of cannibalism was pure invention.

it had bene better to have perished in body, and to have lived everlastingly, then to have relieved for a poore time their mortal bodyes, and to bee condemned everlastingly both body and soule to the unquenchable fire of hell. And thus having ended to that effect, he began to exhort to repentance, and besought all the company to pray, that it might please God to looke upon their miserable present state, and for his owne mercie to relieve the same. The famine increasing, and the inconvenience of the men that were missing being found, they agreed amongst themselves rather then all should perish, to cast lots who should be killed: And such was the mercie of God, that the same night there arrived a French ship in that port, well furnished with vittaile, and such was the policie of the English, that they became masters of the same, and changing ships and vittailing them, they set sayle to come into England.

In their journey they were so farre Northwards, that they sawe mighty Islands of yce in the sommer season, on which were haukes and other foules to rest themselves being weary of flying over farre from the maine. They sawe also certaine great white foules with red bils and red legs, somewhat bigger then Herons, which they supposed to be Storkes. They arrived at St. Ives in Cornewall about the ende of October. From thence they departed unto a certaine castle belonging to sir John Luttrell, where M. Thomas Buts, and M. Rastall and other Gentlemen of the voyage were very friendly entertained: after that they came to the Earle of Bathe at Bathe, and thence to Bristoll, so to London. M. Buts was so changed in the voyage with hunger and miserie, that sir William his father and my Lady his mother knew him not to be their sonne, untill they found a secret marke which was a wart upon one of his knees, as hee told me Richard Hakluyt of Oxford himselfe, to whom I rode 200. miles<sup>1</sup> onely to learne the whole trueth of this voyage from his own mouth, as being the onely man now alive that was in this discoverie.

Certaine moneths after, those Frenchmen came into England, and made complaint to king Henry the 8: the king causing the

<sup>1</sup> Presumably into Norfolk in the year 1589 during the preparation of the *Principal Navigations*. Buts (whose father was physician to Henry VIII) died before the narrative was printed.

matter to be examined, and finding the great distresse of his subjects, and the causes of the dealing so with the French, was so mooved with pitie, that he punished not his subjects, but of his owne purse made full and royall recompence unto the French.

In this distresse of famine, the English did somewhat relieve their vitall spirits, by drinking at the springs the fresh water out of certaine wooden cups, out of which they had drunke their Aqua composita before.

The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the Levant.

In the yeeres of our Lord, 1511. 1512. &c. till the yeere 1534. divers tall ships of London, namely, The Christopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Gresham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof, was William Gunson, and the master one John Hely; the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was master Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, whereof was master William Capling, with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and usuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutti in Syria. The commodities which they caried thither were fine Kersies of divers colours, course Kersies, white Westerne dozens, Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Calveskins which were well sold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Malmesies, Muskadels and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten wooll, Turkie carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamom, and some other spices, &c. Besides, the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, even in those dayes, traffique with Jewes, Turkes, and other forreiners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry strangers also: as namely, Candiots, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliasses, Spanish and Portugale ships. All which particulars doe most evidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Mercer of London, of Sir William Bowyer

Alderman of London, of master John Gresham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt have diligently perused and copied out. And here for authorities sake I doe annexe, as a thing not impertinent to this purpose, a letter of king Henry the eight, unto Don John the third, king of Portugale.

RICHARDI HAKLUYTI brevis admonitio ad Lectorem.

Joannem Mandevillum nostratem, eruditum et insignem Authorem (Balaeo, Mercatore, Ortelio, et aliis, testibus) ab innumeris Scribarum et Typographorum mendis repurgando, ex multorum, eorumque optimorum exemplarium collatione, quid praestiterim, virorum doctorum, et eorum praecipue, qui Geographiae, et Antiquitatis periti sunt, esto iudicium. Quae autem habet de monstriferis hominum formis itinerarii sui praecedentis capitibus trigessimis, trigesimo primo, trigesimo tertio, et sparsim in sequentibus, quamquam non negem ab illo fortasse quaedam eorum alicubi visa fuisse, majori tamen ex parte, ex Caio Plinio secundo hausta videntur, ut facile patebit ea cum his Plinianis, hic ideo a me apposis, collaturo, quae idem Plinius, singulis suis authoribus singula refert, in eorum plerisque fidem suam minimè obstringens. Vale, atque aut meliora dato, aut his utere mecum.

*Translation*

RICHARD HAKLUYT'S brief admonition to the Reader.

If in purging from the countless errors of copyists and printers the work of our countryman John Mandeville, the erudite and distinguished author—let Bale, Mercator, Ortelius and others be my witness—by the collation of many, and those the best copies, I have achieved any success, let them be the judges who are learned men, and who in particular are skilled in geography and antiquities. As for the accounts he gives about men of monstrous shapes in chapters 30, 31, 33 and here and there in the following chapters of his travels, though I do not deny that certain of them were possibly observed by him somewhere, yet they are, for the most part, clearly drawn from Caius Plinius Secundus—as will soon appear to anyone who will compare



them with the chapters of Pliny which I have appended for this purpose—and all of these Pliny himself refers to their various authors, loth to put his trust in the majority of them. Farewell, and use this work with me—or produce a better!

## Document 65

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1589

To the Right Honorable SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM Knight, Principall Secretarie to her Majestie, Chancellor of the Duchie of Lancaster, and one of her Majesties most honourable Privie Councill.

Right Honorable, I do remember that being a youth, and one of her Majesties scholars at Westminster that fruitfull nurserie, it was my happe to visit the chamber of M. Richard Hakluyt my cosin, a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, well known unto you, at a time when I found lying open upon his boord<sup>1</sup> certeine bookes of Cosmographie, with an universall Mappe:<sup>2</sup> he seeing me somewhat curious in the view therof, began to instruct my ignorance,<sup>3</sup> by shewing me the division of the earth into three parts after the olde account, and then according to the latter, & better distribution, into more: he pointed with his wand to all the known Seas, Gulfs, Bayes, Straights, Capes, Rivers, Empires, Kingdomes, Dukedomes, and Territories of ech part, with declaration also of their speciall commodities, & particular wants, which by the benefit of traffike, & entercourse of merchants, are plentifully supplied.<sup>4</sup> From the Mappe he brought me to the Bible, and turning to the 107 Psalme, directed mee to

<sup>1</sup> Table.

<sup>2</sup> World map.

<sup>3</sup> Cosmography formed no part of the ordinary school curriculum.

<sup>4</sup> The elder Hakluyt was particularly interested in economic geography, but if the date of this incident is 1568, he may have been considering the new proposals for a North-East Passage search, or the circumstances of Hawkins' voyage.

the 23 & 24 verses, where I read, that they which go downe to the sea in ships, and occupy by the great waters, they see the works of the Lord, and his woonders in the deepe, &c. Which words of the Prophet together with my cousins discourse (things of high and rare delight to my yong nature) tooke in me so deepe an impression, that I constantly resolved, if ever I were preferred to the University, where better time, and more convenient place might be ministred for these studies, I would by Gods assistance prosecute that knowledge and kinde of literature, the doores whereof (after a sort) were so happily opened before me.

According to which my resolution, when, not long after, I was removed to Christ-church in Oxford, my exercises of duety first performed, I fell to my intended course, and by degrees read over whatsoever printed or written discoveries and voyages I found extant either in the Greeke, Latine, Italian, Spanish, Portugall, French, or English languages, and in my publike lectures<sup>1</sup> was the first, that produced and shewed both the olde imperfectly composed, and the new lately reformed Mappes, Globes, Spheares, and other instruments of this Art for demonstration in the common schooles, to the singular pleasure, and generall contentment of my auditory. In continuance of time, and by reason principally of my insight in this study, I grew familiarly acquainted with the chieftest Captaines at sea, the greatest Merchants, and the best Mariners of our nation: by which meanes having gotten somewhat more then common knowledge, I passed at length the narrow seas into France with sir Edward Stafford, her Majesties carefull and discreet Ligier, where during my five yeeres abroad with him<sup>2</sup> in his dangerous and chargeable residencie in her Highnes service, I both heard in speech, and read in books other nations miraculously extolled for their discoveries and notable enterprises by sea, but the English of all others for their sluggish security, and continuall neglect of the like attempts especially in so long and happy a time of peace, either ignominiously reported, or exceedingly condemned: which singular opportunity, if some other people our neighbors had beene blessed with, their protestations are often and

<sup>1</sup> Presumably begun after Hakluyt had taken his Master's Degree in 1577.

<sup>2</sup> 1583-8.

vehement, they would farre otherwise have used. And that the trueth and evidence heerof may better appeare, these are the very words of Popiliniere in his booke called *L'Admiral de France*, and printed at Paris.<sup>1</sup> Fol. 73. pag. 1, 2. The occasion of his speech is the commendation of the Rhodians, who being (as we are) Islanders, were excellent in navigation, whereupon he woondereth much that the English should not surpasse in that qualitie, in this sort: Ce qui m'a fait autresfois rechercher les occasions, qui empeschent, que les Anglois, qui ont d'esprit, de moyens, & valeur assez, pour s'aquerir un grand honneur parmi tous les Chrestiens, ne se font plus valoir sur l'element qui leur est, & doit estre plus naturel qu'à autres peuples: qui leur doivent ceder en la structure, accommodement & police de navires: comme j'ay veu en plusieurs endroits parmi eux. Thus both hearing, and reading the obloquie of our nation, and finding few or none of our owne men able to replie heerin: and further, not seeing any man to have care to recommend to the world, the industrious labors, and painefull travels of our countrey men: for stopping the mouthes of the reprochers, my selfe being the last winter<sup>2</sup> returned from France with the honorable the Lady Sheffield,<sup>3</sup> for her passing good behavior highly esteemed in all the French court, determined notwithstanding all difficulties, to undertake the burden of that worke wherin all others pretended either ignorance, or lacke of leasure, or want of sufficient argument, whereas (to speake truely) the huge toile, and the small profit to insue, were the chiefe causes of the refusall. I call the worke a burden, in consideration that these voyages lay so dispersed, scattered, and hidden in severall hucksters hands, that I now woonder at my selfe, to see how I was able to endure the delays, curiosity, and backwardnesse of many from whom I was to receive my originals: so that I have just cause to make that complaint of the maliciousnes of divers in our time, which Plinie made of the men of his age: At nos elaborata iis abscondere atque suppressere cupimus, & fraudare vitam etiam alienis bonis, &c.

*Plinius, lib.*  
25, cap. 1.  
*Naturalis*  
*Historia.*

To harpe no longer upon this string, & to speake a word of

<sup>1</sup> In 1584.

<sup>2</sup> 1588-9.

<sup>3</sup> Wife of Sir Edward Stafford.

that just commendation which our nation doe indeed deserve: it can not be denied, but as in all former ages, they have bene men full of activity, stirrers abroad, and searchers of the remote parts of the world, so in this most famous and peerlesse government of her most excellent Majesty, her subjects through the speciall assistance, and blessing of God, in searching the most opposite corners and quarters of the world, and to speake plainly, in compassing the vaste globe of the earth more then once, have excelled all the nations and people of the earth. For, which of the kings of this land before her Majesty, had they banners ever seene in the Caspian sea? which of them hath ever dealt with the Emperor of Persia, as her Majesty hath done, and obtained for her merchants large & loving privileges? who ever saw before this regiment, an English Ligier in the stately porch of the Grand Signor at Constantinople? who ever found English Consuls & Agents at Tripolis in Syria, at Aleppo, at Babylon, at Balsara, and which is more, who ever heard of Englishmen at Goa before now? what English shippes did heeretofore ever anker in the mighty river of Plate? passe and repasse the unpassable (in former opinion) straight of Magellan, range along the coast of Chili, Peru, and all the backside of Nova Hispania, further then any Christian ever passed, travers the mighty bredth of the South sea, land upon the Luzones in despight of the enemy, enter into alliance, amity, and traffike with the princes of the Moluccaes, & the Isle of Java, double the famous Cape of Bona Speranza, arive at the Isle of Santa Helena, & last of al returne home most richly laden with the commodities of China, as the subjects<sup>1</sup> of this now flourishing monarchy have done?

Lucius Florus in the very end of his historie *de gestis Romanorum*<sup>2</sup> recordeth as a wonderfull miracle, that the Seres, (which I take to be the people of Cathay, or China) sent Ambassadors to Rome, to intreate frindship, as moved with the fame of the majesty of the Romane Empire. And have not we as good cause to admire, that the Kings of the Moluccaes, and Java major, have desired the favour of her majestie, and the commerce & traffike

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to Cavendish's voyage.

<sup>2</sup> Edition of 1567.

of her people? Is it not as strange that the borne naturalles of Japan, and the Philippinaes are here to be seene, agreeing with our climate, speaking our language, and informing us of the state of their Easterne habitations?<sup>1</sup> For mine owne part, I take it as a pledge of Gods further favour both unto us and them: to them especially, unto whose doores I doubt not in time shalbe by us caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their marchants. I must confesse to have read in the excellent history intituled *Origines* of Joannes Goropius,<sup>2</sup> a testimonie of king Henrie the viii. a prince of noble memory, whose intention was once, if death had not prevented him, to have done some singular thing in this case: whose words speaking of his dealing to that end with himselfe, he being a stranger, & his history rare, I thought good in this place verbatim to record: Ante viginti & plus eo annos ab Henrico Knevetto Equite Anglo nomine Regis Henrici arram accepi, qua convenerat, Regio sumptu me totam Asiam, quoad Turcorum & Persarum Regum commendationes, & legationesmitterentur, peragraturum. Ab his enim duobus Asiæ principibus facile se impetraturum sperabat, ut non solum tutò mihi per ipsorum fines liceret ire, sed ut commendatione etiam ipsorum ad confinia quoque daretur penetrare. Sumptus quidem non exiguus erat futurus, sed tanta erat principi cognoscendi aviditas, ut nullis pecuniis ad hoc iter necessariis se diceret parsurum. O Dignum Regia Majestate animum, O me fœlicem, si Deus non antè & Knevettum & Regem abstulisset, quàm reversus ab hac peregrinatione fuisset, &c. But as the purpose of David the king to builde a house and temple to God was accepted, although Salomon performed it: so I make no question, but that the zeale in this matter of the aforesaid most renowned prince may seeme no lesse worthy (in his kinde) of acceptation, although reserved for the person of our Salomon her gracious Majesty, whome I feare not to pronounce to have received the same Heroicall spirit, and most honorable disposition, as an inheritance from her famous father.

*Joannis  
Goropii  
Becani  
originū lib.  
5. pag. 494.*

<sup>1</sup> The young men brought home by Cavendish.

<sup>2</sup> Published in 1569.

Now wheras I have alwayes noted your wisdome to have had a speciall care of the honor of her Majesty, the good reputation of our country, & the advancing of navigation, the very walles of this our Island, as the oracle is reported to have spoken of the sea forces of Athens: and whereas I acknowledge in all dutifull sort how honorably both by your letter and speech I have bene animated in this and other my travels, I see my selfe bound to make presentment of this worke to your selfe, as the fruits of your owne encouragements, & the manifestation both of my unfained service to my prince and country, and of my particular duty to your honour: which I have done with the lesse suspition either of not satisfying the world, or of not answering your owne expectation, in that according to your order, it hath passed the sight, and partly also the censure of the learned phisitian M. Doctor James,<sup>1</sup> a man many wayes very notably qualified.

*Plutarch in  
the life of  
Themistocles.*

And thus beseeching God, the giver of all true honor & wisdome to increase both these blessings in you, with continuance of health, strength, happinesse, and whatsoever good thing els your selfe can wish, I humbly take my leave. London the 17 of November.<sup>2</sup>

Your honors most humble alwayes to be  
commanded *Richard Hakluyt*

## Document 66

### PREFACE TO THE READER BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1589

Richard Hakluyt to the favourable Reader.

I have thought it very requisite for thy further instruction and direction in this historie (Good Reader) to acquaint thee brieflie with the Methode and order which I have used in the whole course thereof: and by the way also to let thee understand

<sup>1</sup> One of the Queen's Physicians.

<sup>2</sup> 1589. Walsingham died less than five months after this *Dedication* was written.

by whose friendly aide in this my travell I have bene furthered : acknowledging that ancient speach to be no lesse true then ingenious, that the offence is great, *Non agnoscere per quos profeceris*, not to speake of them by whom a man in his indevours is assisted.

Concerning my proceeding therefore in this present worke, it hath bene this. Whatsoever testimonie I have found in any authour of authoritie appertaining to my argument, either stranger or naturall, I have recorded the same word for word, with his particular name and page of booke where it is extant. If the same were not reduced into our common language, I have first expressed it in the same termes wherein it is originally written, whether it were a Latine, Italian, Spanish or Portingall discourse, or whatsoever els, and thereunto in the next roome have annexed the signification and translation of the wordes in English. And to the ende that those men which were the paynefull and personall travellers might reape that good opinion and just commendation which they have deserved, and further, that every man might answer for himselfe, justifie his reports, and stand accountable for his owne doings, I have referred every voyage to his Author, which both in person hath performed, and in writing hath left the same : for I am not ignorant of Ptolomies assertion, that *Peregrinationis historia*, and not those wearie volumes. bearing the titles of universall Cosmographie which some men that I could name have published as their owne, beyng in deed most untruly and unprofitable ramassed and hurled together, is that which must bring us to the certayne and full discoverie of the world.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, I meddle in this worke with the Navigations onely of our owne nation : And albeit I alleage in a few places (as the matter and occasion required) some strangers as witnesses of the things done, yet are they none but such as either faythfully remember, or sufficiently confirme the travels of our owne people : of whom (to speake trueth) I have received more light in some respects, then all our owne Historians

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt, as this opening shows, was both a sound scholar and a good teacher. The compilations to which he refers are probably those of André Thevet and François de Belleforest, both published in 1575.

could afford me in this case, Bale,<sup>1</sup> Foxe,<sup>2</sup> and Eden<sup>3</sup> onely excepted.

And it is a thing withall principally to be considered, that I stand not upon any action perfourmed neere home, nor in any part of Europe commonly frequented by our shipping, as for example: Not upon that victorious exploit not long since atchieved in our narow Seas agaynst that monstrous Spanish army under the valiant and provident conduct of the right honourable the lord Charles Howard high Admirall of England:<sup>4</sup> Not upon the good services of our two woorthie Generals in their late Portugall expedition: Not upon the two most fortunate attempts of our famous Chieftaine Sir Frauncis Drake, the one in the Baie of Cales upon a great part of the enimies chieftest shippes, the other neere the Islands upon the great Carrack of the East India,<sup>5</sup> the first (though peradventure not the last) of that imployment, that ever discharged Molucca spices in English portes: these (albeit singular and happy voyages of our renowned countrymen) I omit, as things distinct and without the compasse of my prescribed limites, beyng neither of remote length and spaciousnesse, neither of search and discoverie of strange coasts, the chiefe subject of this my labour.

Thus much in brevitie shall serve thee for the generall order. Particularlie I have disposed and digested the whole worke into 3. partes, or as it were Classes, not without my reasons. In the first I have martialled all our voyages of any moment that have bene performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, by which I chiefly meane that part of Asia which is neerest, and of the rest hithermost towards us: For I find that the oldest travels as well of the ancient Britains, as of the English, were ordinarie to Judea which is in Asia, termed by them the Holy

<sup>1</sup> John Bale, *Actes of the Englysh Votaryes*, 1546.

<sup>2</sup> John Fox, *Ecclesiasticall History*, etc. 1570.

<sup>3</sup> Richard Eden, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*, 1555. Hakluyt also made free use of Richard Willes' *History of Travayle*, 1577, based on Eden's work.

<sup>4</sup> The defeat of the Armada.

<sup>5</sup> Naval and military adventures were included in the second edition of the *Principal Navigations*. The carrack referred to was the *St Philip*, the first ship of her class to fall into English hands. The taking of this rich prize in 1587 taught the English public what trade with the East Indies really meant. James Lancaster's voyage was begun in 1591, the first English voyage by the Portuguese Cape route.



land, principally for devotions sake according to the time, although I read in Joseph Bengorion a very authentick Hebrew author, a testimonie of the passing of 20000. Britains valiant souldiours, to the siege and fearefull sacking of Jerusalem under the conduct of Vespasian and Titus the Romane Emperour, a thing in deed of all the rest most ancient. But of latter dayes I see our men have pierced further into the East, have passed downe the mightie river Euphrates, have sayled from Balsara through the Persian gulfes to the Citie of Ormuz, and from thence to Chaul and Goa in the East India, which passages written by the parties themselves are herein to be read.<sup>1</sup> To these I have added the Navigations of the English made for the parts of Africa, and either within or without the streights of Gibraltar: within, to Constantinople in Romania, to Alexandria, and Cayro in Egypt, to Tunez, to Goletta, to Malta, to Algier, and to Tripolis in Barbary: without, to Santa Cruz, to Asafi, to the Citie of Marocco, to the River of Senega, to the Isles of Cape Verde, to Guinea, to Benyn, and round about the dreadfull Cape of Bona Speranza, as far as Goa.

The north, and Northeasterne voyages of our nation I have produced in the second place, because our accesse to those quarters of the world is later and not so auncient as the former: and yet some of our travailes that way be of more antiquitie by many hundred yeeres, then those that have bene made to the westerne coastes of America. Under this title thou shalt first finde the old northerne Navigations of our Brittish Kings, as of Arthur, of Malgo, of Edgar Pacificus the Saxon Monarch, with that also of Nicholaus de Linna under the north pole:<sup>2</sup> next to them in consequence, the discoveries of the bay of Saint Nicholas, of Colgoieve, of Pechora, of the Isles of Vaigats, of Nova Zembla, and of the Sea eastwards towards the river of Ob: after this, the opening by sea of the great Dukedome, and Empire of Russia, with the notable and strange journey of Master Jenkinson to Boghar in Bactria. Whereunto thou maist adde sixe of our voyages eleven hundred verstes up against the

<sup>1</sup> In the letters from John Newbery and Ralph Fitch. The latter's full narrative was written on his return to England in 1591.

<sup>2</sup> This matter Hakluyt had from John Dee.

streame of Dwina to the towne of Vologhda: thence one hundred, and fourescore verstes by land to Yeraslave standing upon the mighty river of Volga: there hence above two thousand and five hundred versts downe the streame to the ancient marte Towne of Astracan, and so to the manifolde mouthes of Volga, and from thence also by ship over the Caspian sea into Media, and further then that also with Camels unto Georgia, Armenia, Hyrcania, Gillan, and the cheefest Cities of the Empire of Persia: wherein the Companie of Moscovie Marchants to the perpetuall honor of their Citie, and societie, have performed more then any one, yea then all the nations of Europe besides: which thing is also acknowledged by the most learned Cosmographers, and Historiographers of Christendome, with whose honorable testimonies of the action, not many for number, but sufficient for authoritie I have concluded this second part.<sup>1</sup>

Touching the westernne Navigations, and travailes of ours, they succcede naturallie in the third and last roome, forasmuch as in order and course those coastes, and quarters came last of all to our knowledge and experience. Herein thou shalt reade the attempt by Sea of the sonne of one of the Princes of Northwales, in sayling and searching towards the west more then 400. yeeres since:<sup>2</sup> the offer made by Christopher Columbus that renowned Genouoys to the most sage Prince of noble memorie King Henrie the 7. with his prompt and cheerefull acceptation thereof, and the occasion whereupon it became fruitlesse, and at that time of no great effect to this kingdome: then followe the letters Patentes of the foresaid noble Prince given to John Cabot a Venetian and his 3. sonnes, to discover & conquer in his name, and under his Banners unknown Regions: who with that royall incouragement & contribution of the king himselve, and some assistance in charges of English Marchants departed with 5. sailes from the Port of Bristoll accompanied with 300. Englishmen, and first of any Christians found out that mightie and large tract of lande and Sea, from the circle Arcticke as farre as Florida, as appeareth in the discourse thereof. The triumphant

*Robert  
Fabian.*

<sup>1</sup> Ramusio, Mercator, and Joannes Metellus Sequanus.

<sup>2</sup> This story was printed in David Powell's edition of *The Historie of Cambria*, 1584.

raigne of King Henry the 8. yelded some prosecution of this discoverie: for the 3. voyages performed, and the 4. intended for all Asia by his Majesties selfe, do approve and confirme the same. Then in processe of yeeres ariseth the first English trade to Brasill, the first passing of some of our nation in the ordinarie Spanish fleetes to the west Indies, and the huge Citie of Mexico in Nova Hispania. Then immediatlye ensue 3. voyages made by M. John Hawkins now Knight, then Esquire, to Hispaniola, and the gulfes of Mexico: upon which depende sixe verie excellent discourses of our men, whereof some for 15. or 16. whole yeeres inhabited in New Spaine, and ranged the whole Countrie, wherein are disclosed the cheefest secretes of the west India, which may in time turne to our no smal advantage. The next leaves thou turnest, do yeelde thee the first valiant enterprise of Sir Francis Drake upon Nombre de Dios, the mules laden with treasure which he surprised, and the house called the Cruzes, which his fire consumed: and therewith is joyned an action more venterous then happie of John Oxnam of Plimmouth written, and confessed by a Spanyard, which with his companie passed over the streight Istme of Darien, and building certaine pinnesses on the west shoare, was the first Englishman that entered the South sea. To passe over Master Frobisher and his actions, which I have also newly though briefly printed, and as it were revived, whatsoever Master John Davis hath performed in continuing that discovery, which Master Frobisher began for the northwest passage, I have faithfully at large communicated it with thee, that so the great good hope, & singular probabilities & almost certaintie therof, which by his industry have risen, may be knowen generally of all men, that some may yet still prosecute so noble an action.<sup>1</sup> Sir Humfrey Gilbert, that couragious Knight, and very expert in the mysteries of Navigation amongst the rest is not forgotten: his learned reasons & arguments for the prooffe of the passage before named, together with his last more commendable resolution then fortunate successe, are here both to be read. The continuance of the historie, produceth the beginnings, and proceedings of the two English Colonies planted in Virginia at the charges of sir Walter

<sup>1</sup> Davis' third voyage took place in 1587.

Raleigh, whose entrance upon those newe inhabitations had bene happie, if it had ben as seriously followed, as it was cheerefully undertaken. I could not omit in this parte the two voyages made not long since to the Southwest, whereof I thinke the Spanyard hath had some knowledge, and felt some blowes: the one of Master Edward Fenton, and his consort Master Luke Warde: the other of Master Robert Withrington, and his hardie consort Master Christopher Lister as farre as 44. degrees of southerly latitude, set out at the direction and charge of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland, both which in divers respectes may yelde both profite and pleasure to the reader, being carefully perused.

For the conclusion of all, the memorable voyage of Master Thomas Candish into the South sea, and from thence about the globe of the earth doth satisfie mee, and I doubt not but will fully content thee: which as in time it is later then that of Sir Frauncis Drake, so in relation of the Philippinaes, Japan, China, and the Isle of S. Helena it is more particular, and exact: and therefore the want of the first made by Sir Frauncis Drake will be the lesse:<sup>1</sup> wherein I must confesse to have taken more then ordinarie paines, meaning to have inserted it in this worke: but being of late (contrary to my expectation) seriously delt withall, not to anticipate or prevent another mans paines and charge in drawing all the services of that worthie Knight into one volume, I have yeelded unto those my freindes which pressed me in the matter, referring the further knowledge of his proceedinges, to those intended discourses.

Now for the other part of my promise, I must crave thy further patience frendly reader, and some longer suspence from the worke it selfe, in acquainting thee with those vertuous gentlemen, and others which partly for their private affection to my selfe, but chiefly for their devotion to the furtherance of this my travaile, have yelded me their severall good assistances: for I accompt him unworthy of future favours, that is not thankefull for former benefites. In respect of a generall incouragement in this laborious travaile, it were grosse ingratitude in mee to

<sup>1</sup> The author's intention at the time of writing was to omit Drake's voyage. The alternative plans for its publication must have fallen through just as Hakluyt's work left the press, when an abridgement of his own compilation was inserted into unsold copies.

forget, and wilfull maliciousnes not to confesse that man, whose onely name doth carrie with it sufficient estimation and love, and that is Master Edward Dier, of whom I will speake thus much in few wordes, that both my selfe and my intentions herein by his frendly meanes have bene made knowne to those, who in sundrie particulars have much steeded me. More specially in my first part, Master Richard Staper Marchant of London, hath furnished me with divers thinges touching the trade of Turkie, and other places in the East. Master William Burrowgh, Clarke of her Majesties navie, and Master Anthonie Jenkinson, both gentlemen of great experience, and observations in the north Regions, have much pleased me in the second part. In the third and last besides myne owne extreeme travaile in the histories of the Spanyards, my cheefest light hath bene received from Sir John Hawkins, Sir Walter Raleigh, and my kinseman Master Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple.

And whereas in the course of this history often mention is made of many beastes, birds, fishes, serpents, plants, fruits, hearbes, rootes, apparell, armour, boates, and such other rare and strange curiosities, which wise men take great pleasure to reade of, but much more contentment to see: herein I my selfe to my singuler delight have bene as it were ravished in beholding all the premisses gathered together with no small cost, and preserved with no litle diligence, in the excellent Cabinets of my very worshipfull and learned friends M. Richard Garthe,<sup>1</sup> one of the Clearkes of the pettie Bags, and M. William Cope<sup>2</sup> Gentleman Ussier to the right Honourable and most prudent Counsellor (the Seneca of our common wealth,) the Lord Burleigh, high Treasurer of England.

Nowe, because peradventure it would bee expected as neces-

<sup>1</sup> Gerard the herbalist refers several times to 'Master Garth' as a collector and grower of rare plants, and a friend of Charles de l'Escluse, from whom he had received specimens. Rumold Mercator described him as a lover and patron of geography and all noble arts, and dedicated to him his world map of 1587 in memory of an intimate friendship of long standing (see Plate VI).

<sup>2</sup> This was *Walter Cope*, son of Sir Anthony Cope. A catalogue of his collection is given by Thomas Platters, who viewed it in company with Dr Lobel in 1599. Platters understood that Cope had personally collected many of the objects during his travels in the Indies with 'Vliess' (? Ulysses, Francis Drake), and mentions articles 'from a Spanish ship which he helped to rob', but there is no other record of this.

sarie, that the descriptions of so many parts of the world would farre more easily be conceived of the Readers, by adding Geographicall, and Hydrographicall tables thereunto, thou art by the way to be admonished that I have contented my selfe with inserting into the worke one of the best generall mappes of the world onely, untill the comming out of a very large and most exact terrestriall Globe, collected and reformed according to the newest, secretest, and latest discoveries, both Spanish, Portugall, and English, composed by M. Emmerie Mollineux of Lambeth, a rare Gentleman in his profession,<sup>1</sup> being therein for divers yeeres, greatly supported by the purse and liberalitie of the worshipfull marchant M. William Sanderson.

*The excellent  
newe Globe  
of M.  
Mullineux.*

This being the summe of those things which I thought good to admonish thee of (good Reader) it remaineth that thou take the profite and pleasure of the worke: which I wish to bee as great to thee, as my paines and labour have bene in bringing these rawe fruits unto this ripenesse, and in reducing these loose papers into this order. Farewell.

## Document 67

### LETTER FROM HENRY LANE TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1589-90

A letter of M. HENRIE LANE to M. RICHARD HAKLUYT, concerning the first ambassage to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth from the Russian Emperour anno 1567, and other notable matters incident to those places and times.<sup>2</sup>

Worshipfull sir, because I finde you have the successe and proceedings of Osep Napea the first ambassadour of the Russian Emperour to the Majesties of King Philip and Queene Marie, at what time and at his returne I was remaining in Russia, & do not

<sup>1</sup> Molyneux was well known as a nautical instrument maker. His globe and accompanying map were finished in 1592.

<sup>2</sup> Most probably written after a perusal of the first edition of the *Principal Navigations*.

finde that the perfect knowledge of the first ambassage from thence to this our Sovereigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth is come to your hands, betweene whose Highnesse and the ambassadours I was interpretour, I thinke good to expresse it. In August Anno 1567 arrived at London with their retinue two especiall authorised messengers, named Stephen Twerdico, and Theodore Pogorella, with letters and presents to her Majesty, at that time being at Otelands, where divers of the chiefe merchants of the Russian company did associate them, and I there doing my duetie and office of interpretour, her Majestie gave them audience. First they rehearsed the long stile and Majesty of their Master, with his most friendly and hearty commendations to her Highnesse, and then they testified the singular great joy and pleasure that he conceived to heare of her most princely estate, dignitie and health: and lastly, they delivered their letters and presents. The presents sent unto her Majesty were Sables, both in paires for tippets, and two timbars,<sup>1</sup> to wit, two times fortie, with Luserns<sup>2</sup> and other rich furies. For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furies was yet in use. And great pitie but that it might be renewed, especiall in Court, and among Magistrates, not onely for the restoring of an olde worshipfull Art and Companie, but also because they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, grave and comely: expressing dignitie, comforting age, and of longer continuance, and better with small cost to be preserved, then these new silks, shagges,<sup>3</sup> and ragges,<sup>4</sup> wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.

*The use of  
furies  
wholesome,  
delicate,  
grave and  
comely.*

These ambassadours were appointed lodging and enterteinment by the Moscovie company at their house then in Seething Lane, and were sundrie times after permitted to be in presence. And in May 1568 tooke their leave at Greenwich, where they understood and had the Queenes Majesties minde, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talke, her Highnesse considering that our trade to Saint Nicholas since the beginning had bene offensive to divers princes, states, and merchants Eastward, used these speeches or the like: Who is or shall be more touched

*The trade in  
S. Nicholas  
offensive to  
divers  
princes and  
states  
Eastwards.*

<sup>1</sup> A package containing forty skins.

<sup>3</sup> Worsted cloth with velvet nap.

<sup>2</sup> Lynx.

<sup>4</sup> Irony.

by detractours, with flying tales and untrue reports, then Princes and Rulers, to the breach of love and unitie? your Master and I in things that passe by word and writing, I doubt not will keepe and performe promises. If he heare the contrary of me, let him suspend his judgement, and not be light of credit, and so will I. These words they termed her Majesties golden speech: and kneeling downe, kissed her hand, and departed.

The letters that these two messengers brought, were delivered to me by my Lord Treasurour, being then Secretarie, to be translated, the copies whereof I had, but now cannot finde. The copie of the Queenes Majesties letter I send inclosed herewith unto your worship.<sup>1</sup> I also have sent you a copy of a letter written from the king of Polonia to the Queenes Majestie, with other letters from some of our nation and factours, declaring the displeasure for our trafficke to the Russes from anno 1558 to the yere 1566, especially by the way of the Narve:<sup>2</sup> in which yere of 1566, having generall procuration and commission from the Company, I was in the Low countrey at Antwerpe and Amsterdam, and sometimes in company with Polacks, Danskers, and Easterlings: and by reason I had bene a lidger in Russia,<sup>3</sup> I could the better reply and prove, that their owne nations and the Italians were most guiltie of the accusations written by the king of Poland.

This king Sigismundus (whose ambassadours very sumptuous I have seene at Mosco) was reported to be too milde in suffering the Moscovites. Before our trafficke they overranne his great dukedome of Lituania, and tooke Smolensco, carrying the people captives to Mosco. And in the yere 1563, as appeareth by Thomas Alcocks letter, they suffered the Russe likewise in that Duchy to take a principall city called Polotzko, with the lord and people thereof. Likewise the said Sigismundus and the king of Sweden did not looke to the protection of Livonia, but lost all, except Rie<sup>4</sup> and Revel, and the Russe made the Narve his port to trafficke, not onely to us, but to Lubec and others, generall. And still from those parts the Moscovites were furnished out of Dutchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had

*Smolensco  
won by the  
Russe.*

*Polotzko  
taken.*

<sup>1</sup> See *infra*, p. 412.

<sup>2</sup> In the East Baltic.

<sup>3</sup> Ambassador.

<sup>4</sup> Riga.



few or none by us. The Italians also furnished them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike stratagemes, and the arte of fortification. In the dayes of Sigismund, the Russe would tant the Polacks, that they loved their ease at home with their wives, and to drinke, and were not at commandement of their king. This Sigismund had to wife the daughter of Ferdinando, Charles the fifts brother, and he died without issue. Since which time their late elected king Stephanus Batore kept the Russe in better order, and recovered Polotzko againe in the yere 1579. Thus with my heartie farewell I take my leave of your worship.

*Polotzko  
recovered by  
Stephanus  
Batore.*

Your assured friend *Henrie Lane*.<sup>1</sup>

### *Enclosure*

A Letter of the most excellent Majestie of Queene Elizabeth, sent by STEPHEN TWERDICO and PHEODATA POGORELLA, messengers of the Emperour of Russia, unto their Master the ninth of May 1568.

Imperatori Moscovitarum, &c.

Elizabetha &c. Literas vestræ Majestatis superiori anno 1567, decimo die mensis Aprilis datas, vestri mercatores Stephanus Twerdico, & Pheodata Pogorella, qui has nostras perferunt, nobis tradidère. Quos vestros mercatores in omni suo apud nos & nostros obeundo negotio, ita tractari, & libenti voluntate, & expresso nostro mandato curavimus, ut non solum vestræ Majestatis pro illis postulationi, sed eorundem etiam hominum expectationi plenè satisfactum esse confidamus. Id quod eò fecimus studiosiùs, quod plane perspectum, probèque cognitum habeamus, nostros omnes, qui bona cum gratia nostra, nostrarúmque literarum commendatione, istuc, sub vestro imperio negotiaturi veniunt, pari, cum vestræ Majestatis favore, tum vestrorum subditorum humanitate, ubivis acceptos esse. Quæ nostra utrobíque, & mutuæ inter nos amicitiae, & gratæ inter nostros benevolentiae officia, ut crebra & perpetua existant, nos admodum postulamus. Quem animi nostri sensum fusius hi

<sup>1</sup> Henry Lane first went to Russia as an agent of the Muscovy Company in 1555. Hakluyt also printed a letter, written in 1586, in which Lane set out the history of the Muscovy trade at the request of Wm. Sanderson.

vestri, & opportunius suo sermone coram declarabunt: Quibus non dubitamus, quin vestra Majestas amplam fidem sit tributura. Deus &c. Grenovici nono die Maii 1567.

## Document 68

### WILL OF EDMOND HACKLUYT, 1592

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. I, Edmond Hackluyte of Eaton in the Countie of Hereford gentleman being in perfect healthe of bodye and good understandinge of mynde do make my laste will and testamente in forme folowinge. First I bequeath my soule into the handes of the blessed trinitie by whose infinite and unspeakeable goodnes and mercey I was created redeemed sanctified and preserved so many yeres in this huge sea of daungers and vale of teares: whose gracious goodnes in stead of punishinge my grevous sinnes hath bountifully powred many benefitts uppon me. Yea when my father and mother forsooke me and were taken from me by deathe even in myne infancy the Lord tooke me up the Lord cared for me. Tibi laus tibi honor tibi gratiarum actio in secula seculorum. Amen.

My free land in Eaton and elsewhere I give to my welbeloved brother Mr. Richard Hackluyte and to his heyers males lawfullie begotten for ever. For defaulte of such issue male unto the issue male of Oliver Hackluyte my brother. For want of such issue male to the female issue of my eldest brother:<sup>1</sup> for the lacke of such issue to the female issue of Oliver: for defaulte of such to the children of Katherine Moore my sister. For lacke of such issue to my sister Andrewes children: for want of such issue to the Queene and her heyers and successors for ever. My lease of fyve yeres to come of eight poundes yerelie bought of Richard Cooper of Dorkinge I give unto my brother Richard and Katherine Moore my sister. My stocke in Ireland betweene fortie poundes and fiftie I woulde have gathered up into myne Exec: handes whereof five poundes I give unto my sister

<sup>1</sup> Thomas.

Katherine, tenne shillinges a yeaere to all her children, the like tenne shillinges a piece to my other sisters children: twentie shillinges to my cosen Dorothe Davyes as a token for my thankefull mynde. Allso to my gentle cosen Vernon at her house fower Ryalls to be put in a Ringe and given her from me. To the sweete courteous and honorable younge gentleman Mr William Howard sonne and heire to the Lord Admiral (unto whom I was Tutor fower yeres togeather) I bequeathe as a shadowe of lovinge and dutifull mynde fortie shillinges to be put into a Ringe with his Armes to be engraven thereon: desyryng hym to accept of my name and to knowe them the rather for my sake. My three trunckes and apparell as well sattyn as whatsoever els not pertinently specified togeather with twoe cloakes of silke geograram the one blacke the other peachcoulloure lyned with rytche taffata I leave to the disposicion of myne Executor praying hym to burye me neare my cosen R. Hackluyte<sup>1</sup> or by my brother Thomas in Oxford and that he will bestowe uppon some small remembrance of me fortie shillinges, asmuche for some monument of my deare cosen Richard Hackluyte Esquier. And whereas my cosen Norwood lent me certeyne bookes of the Civill Lawe which remayne in the handes of William Tomkyns vicar of Twicknem uppon Thames together with many bookes of myne owne I praye myne Executor to see the same saffely with many thanks redelivered with full satisfaction to be made unto hym for those that be wantinge. Thus I ende my paynefull sorrowfull and wearisome pilgrimage in this vale of tears making my lovinge brother Richard Hackluyte myne executor. O Christe my soule thirsteth longeth and gaspeth after thee. Recyve me with those blessed armes stretched on the tree, and readye to embrace every one that seeketh salvation in thine Agonyes and merites. Into thine handes Lord I commend me body and soule, preserve me nowe and in the hower of my deathe. Veni domine Jesu, veni cito et noli tardare. Amen. Alleluia. Junii 20. 1592.

By me Edmond Hackluyte. By me Roger Moer.

[Probate granted at London before Dr. Lewis and Richard Hackluyt, Feb. 1, 1592/3.]

<sup>1</sup> The lawyer, who died in 1591.





## Document 69

### LETTER FROM JOHN WHITE TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1593

To the Worshipful and my very friend Master RICHARD HAKLUYT, much happinesse in the Lord.

Sir, as well for the satisfying of your earnest request, as the performance of my promise made unto you at my last being with you in England,<sup>1</sup> I have sent you (although in a homely stile, especially for the contentation of a delicate eare) the true discourse of my last voyage<sup>2</sup> into the West Indies, and partes of America called Virginia, taken in hand about the end of Februarie, in the yeare of our redemption 1590.<sup>3</sup> And what events happened unto us in this our journey, you shall plainly perceive by the sequele of my discourse. There were at the time aforesaid three ships absolutely determined to goe for the West Indies, at the speciall charges of M. John Wattes of London Marchant. But when they were fully furnished, and in readinesse to make their departure, a generall stay was commanded of all ships thorowout England. Which so soone as I heard, I presently (as I thought it most requisite) acquainted Sir Walter Raleigh therewith, desiring him that as I had sundry times afore bene chargeable and troublesome unto him, for the supplies and relieves of the planters in Virginia:<sup>4</sup> so likewise, that by his endeavour it would please him at that instant to procure license for those three ships to proceede on with their determined voyage, that thereby the people in Virginia (if it were God's pleasure) might speedily be comforted and relieved without further charges unto him. Whereupon he by his good meanes obtained license of the Queenes Majestie, and order to be taken, that the owner of the 3 ships should be bound unto Sir Walter Raleigh or his assignes, in

<sup>1</sup> White wrote from Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> An enclosure, which Hakluyt printed.

<sup>3</sup> 1591, new style.

<sup>4</sup> Raleigh did his best for the abandoned colonists.

3000 pounds, that those 3 ships in consideration of their release-ment should take in, & transport a convenient number of passengers, with their furnitures and necessaries to be landed in Virginia. Neverthelesse that order was not observed, neither was the bond taken according to the intention aforesaid. But rather in contempt of the aforesaid order, I was by the owner and Commanders of the ships denied to have any passengers, or any thing els transported in any of the said ships, saving only my selfe & my chest; no not so much as a boy to attend upon me, although I made great sute, & earnest intreatie aswell to the chiefe Commanders, as to the owner of the said ships. Which crosse and unkind dealing, although it very much discontented me, notwithstanding the scarcities of time was such, that I could have no opportunity to go unto Sir Walter Raleigh with complaint: for the ships being then all in readinesse to goe to the Sea, would have bene departed before I could have made my returne. Thus both Governors, Masters, and sailers, regarding very smally the good of their countrey-men in Virginia; determined nothing lesse then to touch at those places, but wholly disposed themselves to seeke after purchase & spoiles, spending so much time therein, that sommer was spent before we arrived at Virginia.<sup>1</sup> And when we were come thither, the season was so unfit, & weather so foule, that we were constrained of force to forsake that coast, having not seene any of our planters, with losse of one of our ship-boates, and 7 of our chiefest men: and also with losse of 3 of our ankers and cables, and most of our caskes with fresh water left on shore, not possible to be had aboard. Which evils & unfortunate events (as wel to their owne losse as to the hinderance of the planters in Virginia) had not chanced, if the order set downe by Sir Walter Raleigh had bene observed, or if my dayly & continuall petitions for the performance of the same might have taken any place. Thus may you plainly perceive the successe of my fift & last voiage to Virginia,<sup>2</sup> which was no lesse unfortunately ended then frowardly begun, and as lucklesse to many, as sinister to my selfe. But I would to God it

<sup>1</sup> It was mid-August.

<sup>2</sup> White's voyages were in 1585, 1586, 1587, 1588, 1591. In the fourth, he failed to reach Virginia.

had bene as prosperous to all, as noysome to the planters; & as joyfull to me, as discomfortable to them. Yet seeing it is not my first crossed voyage, I remaine contented. And wanting<sup>1</sup> my wishes, I leave off from prosecuting that whereunto I would to God my wealth were answerable to my will. Thus committing the reliefe of my discomfortable company the planters in Virginia, to the merciful help of the Almighty, whom I most humbly beseech to helpe & comfort them, according to his most holy wil & their good desire, I take my leave: from my house at Newtowne in Kylmore the 4 of February, 1593.<sup>2</sup>

Your most welwishing friend,

*John White*

## Document 70

### LETTER FROM EMANUEL VAN METEREN TO JACOB VALCKE, 1594

The 15/25 Decemb. 1594 at London.

Dear and worshipful Sir, I have received your worship's letter of November 25, and in accordance with your desire I have written concerning the north-west sea passage to R. Haclet, who has answered me, as you will see from his reply forwarded with this, translated by me word for word from the English. Your worship will please to instruct me what I shall answer him, and the sooner the better. He demands at least 20 marks sterling, which is about 140 gulden. Your worship will consider whether it is worth so much. I believe that there is no man living more eager in searching out the manner of voyages or who can say more about it. He is also a scholar and has been Chaplain to Stafford when he was the Queen's Ambassador at Paris in France. He is the most skilled man in research that I have ever known, and I have known him full twenty years.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Failing to obtain.

<sup>2</sup> 1594, new style.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* since 1574.



I believe that he will perform what he promises, so will your worship please let me know your answer as early as possible.

I know not what your worship has in mind concerning a disputation by Jenkinson;<sup>1</sup> but in Haccllet's book<sup>2</sup> on folio 597 there is a discourse about the north-west passage written by Sr. Humfry Gilpert Knight; I suppose your worship means that; it is certainly worth reading.

*Emanuel van Meteren*

## Document 71

### LETTER FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT TO EMANUEL VAN METEREN, 1594

Copy of RICHART HACCLET'S letter to me EMANUEL VAN METEREN written at Wetherset near Ipswich 6 Decemb. 1594, translated from the English.

Good Mr. Emanuel, In answer to the chief subject of your friendly letter of 27 Nov. touching a summary of such writers or of the sound opinions of experienced men who have observed and noted down anything concerning the north-east passage, you must know that to make such a summary or brief statement in the proper way is a matter which requires good observation and judgment, much reading, much patience, and many consultations with the persons who have sailed in that part, by the usage of which I find and can demonstrate by good proof that your cousin Ortelius, and other cosmographers, have erred greatly in their descriptions both of the north-east and of the north-west parts of the world and also the same is true of others who have presumed to make maps but are in truth mere pretenders, such as only counterfeit or imitate the work of others, and are not good geographers.

<sup>1</sup> This was the disputation before the Privy Council, held in 1565/6.

<sup>2</sup> The *Principal Navigations*.

You know for one thing the great labour and long time that I have given and employed in these studies and how I have spared myself neither in expense nor in toil during a space of at least 26 years,<sup>1</sup> to gain knowledge of these secrets. I am ready now to impart to you in writing all the fruits of these my labours, as [your friends] desire with notes and quotations from the passages in my authors in the margin, and also indeed to help them to buy such books dealing with that argument and matter as are to be found in print, and regarding what is not yet in print, I shall send them in brief the substance thereof in writing. But all this can only be done in the needful time, and I should have to come up to London on account of it and remain there 3 or 4 weeks at least, which you know will cost somewhat. Therefore as regards the reward for my trouble, I think that I shall well deserve twenty pounds sterling. But it may so fall out that my directions shall give your friends such light and such courage that it will profit them many thousand pounds. And to speak freely and shortly, I will not communicate all my secrets in this very important matter under the sum of twenty marks at least. And I ask you at the earliest possible moment and in all haste to let me have your friends' final answer and full decision as to what my modest reward shall be; for if both the time and the thought I have given to the subject and also my labour are taken into account as I honestly believe they deserve to be, I shall at once, on the assurances in your next letter, come to London bringing with me all my principal notes, and shall not depart from there until I have with all speed and diligence fulfilled your friends' desire nor shall I conceal anything that will serve for the furtherance of such most Christian, profitable and noble enterprises.<sup>2</sup> But herein I ask you to be secret, for that imports me much, and as the Italian says, "*il savio è secreto.*"

You may let your good friend know in my name that he is very mistaken about many parts of the course followed by Johannes de Plano Carpini, for (if his copy does not differ much from mine, which is printed in Italian) he will find that he did not travel along the Mediterranean Sea but on the north side of

<sup>1</sup> Since 1568, when his cousin's discourse attracted him to Cosmography.

<sup>2</sup> The Dutch search for a north-east passage.

the Pontus Euxinus and over the river Volga, not to Astracan but further northwards and did not reach Boghar but travelled for many days having the northern Ocean on his left hand, going eastward, and he made frequent mention of the Scythian or northern Ocean. But of these matters I shall be able to write better and more particularly later, and can refer to the author's own words. I should like to know in what language they have the [copy] of de Plano Carpini, whether in Latin as I have seen him and if he is in print, when where and by whom printed.

Regarding Abilfeda Ismael, if that work is not to be had from the Library in Heidelberg of my friend Mr. Paulus Melissus, I can refer him to some of my friends at Venice who have copies translated into Latin.

Herewith awaiting your full and speedy answer, I recommend you to God's grace. R. H.

## Document 72

### NOTES ASCRIBED TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1598

The true Limites of all the Countries and Provinces at this present actually possessed by ye Spaniards and Portugales in the West Indies.

All that parte of the West Indies, w<sup>ch</sup> at this day is inhabited by ye Spaniards and Portugals is almost included wthin ye two Tropiques, excepting ye two small townes of St. Augustin and St. Helena in Florida, and ye province of Nueva Biscaia north west, and 5 townes in ye River of Plate, namely Buenos Aires, Santo Spirito, Santa Anna, the city of Ascension, and Santa Fee beyond ye southerne tropique, as also in ye Kingdome of Chili upon ye South sea, ye townes of Coquimbo, Ponce, Angol, Sant Jago, La Imperial, Villa Rica, and Villa del Lago.

I doe not deny, but that northward and southward they have discovered much farther: but y<sup>t</sup> they have no further actual possession than before is specified, their owne later histories,

ruttiers and journals w<sup>ch</sup> we have to show, and our Englishmens manifold experience, doe assure us.

The most northerly Provinces of Nueva Espana, w<sup>thin</sup> and near ye tropique, are Nueva Espana upon ye South Sea and Guestocan upon ye Bay of Mexico. The most northerly Spanish towne in Culiacan, a province of Nova Galicia, is St<sup>r</sup>. Michael, situate in 24 degrees of north latitude, and ye northermost Spanish townes in Guastecan are Tampico, Panuco, and Sant Jago de los Valles, as evidently appeareth by ye 8th and 9th mappes to be seen in ye last edition of Ortelius his *Theatrum Orbis*, w<sup>ch</sup> was y<sup>e</sup> sworne cosmographer of y<sup>e</sup> King of Spaine.<sup>1</sup>

Southwards of these lyeth y<sup>e</sup> Kingdome of Mexico, comprehending in it y<sup>e</sup> provinces of Yucatan, y<sup>e</sup> Honduras, Guatemala, and Veragua on y<sup>e</sup> East parte, as likewise Mochuacan, Colima, and Sacatula on y<sup>e</sup> West, and down more southerly y<sup>e</sup> provinces of Soconusco, Chiapa, Nicaragua, and Costa Ricas, besides thir inferior provinces. And it stretcheth to y<sup>e</sup> townes of Panama and Nombre de Dios, standing both upon the Isthmus or Neckland of Darien.

The second general part of y<sup>e</sup> West Indies, called by the Spaniards Tierra Firma, beginneth upon ye North sea at ye Gulf of Uraba, and is as far as the Isle Trinidad. Their principal Inland townes are Mompox, Santa Fee, Caly, Ancerma, Popaian, Pasto, Victoria, Carthago, Trimana, Merida, Pamplon, Tunxa, Santa Fee, Tocayma, St. Jago de Leon etc. Their chief Townes and Havens on ye sea coast are Carthagena, Santa Marta, Rio de Hacha, Coro, Burburate, Caracas, and Cumana, whereunto may be added the Isles of Margarita and Trinidad.

From ye isle of Trinidad standing in 10 and 9 degrees of north latitude, all along ye coast to ye equinoctiall line, and thence forward to Paraiba, Petigueras and Fernambuck, situate in 7 and 8 degrees of southerly latitude, for ye space of 500 leagues, their are no Christians at all inhabiting, as we are taught by our own late and yerely experience.<sup>2</sup>

From Paraiba in 7 degrees of latitude southward, ye Portugales do inhabite, upon ye cost of Brasill, ye townes Fernambuck,

<sup>1</sup> Ortelius died in June 1598.

<sup>2</sup> The voyages of Raleigh and his captains, 1595, 1596, 1597.

Baya de todos santos, w<sup>ch</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> seate of y<sup>e</sup> Vizroy and Bishop of Brasill, the town of Baya des Islas, Porto Seguro, Baya del Spirito Santo, w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> townes of Santos and San Vincente, w<sup>ch</sup> towne of San Vincente standeth in 24 degrees of south latitude.

From Saint Vincente to ye straights of Magellan, all along the sea coast, for y<sup>e</sup> space of 700 leages, ther are no Christian inhabitants, only y<sup>e</sup> Spanish have planted 5 inland townes before mentioned upon y<sup>e</sup> river of Plate.

Within y<sup>e</sup> straights of Magellan they have not anie towne, either upon y<sup>e</sup> North or South shore. And as far as y<sup>e</sup> townes of Nombre de Jesus and Ciudad del Rey Philipppo,<sup>1</sup> they have been found long since by Mr Candish in both his voyages and by diverse others of our nation<sup>2</sup> to be utterly ruined and dispeopled.

Also from y<sup>e</sup> Straighes of Magellan to y<sup>e</sup> Isle of Santa Maria, standing w<sup>th</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> South Sea in 37 degrees, to witt for y<sup>e</sup> space of 300 leages, they have no habitation at all.

From this Ile to y<sup>e</sup> tropique of Capricorn stretcheth the land of Chili contayning the towns before mentioned. At this tropique beginneth y<sup>e</sup> Province of Peru, w<sup>ch</sup> extendeth between y<sup>e</sup> sea coast and y<sup>e</sup> mountaines called Andes, somewhat to y<sup>e</sup> northward of y<sup>e</sup> equinoctial. And here y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards have many townes and cities, both upon y<sup>e</sup> coast and also w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> country. On y<sup>e</sup> coast they have Arica, Arequipa, Pisca, Lima y<sup>e</sup> seat of y<sup>e</sup> Vizroy containing 2000 households, and y<sup>e</sup> townes of Santos, Truxillo, Chorope and Payta, and y<sup>e</sup> Ile of Puna. The chief places of y<sup>e</sup> inland are Potosi, Charcas, Cusco and Quito. From Quito to Panama y<sup>e</sup> coast lieth in a maner desolate. These before mentioned are y<sup>e</sup> principal provinces, cities and townes actually possessed by y<sup>e</sup> Spaniards upon y<sup>e</sup> maine of America.

The chief islands they possesse as part of this new world are St. Juan de Porto Rico, Hispaniola, Cuba and Jamaica. As for y<sup>e</sup> great multitude of those other small Isles called Las Antillas adjoining to those 4, they are either utterly desolate, or inhabit by a few Salvages.

So that besides all those huge coasts and mighty inlands lying southward of y<sup>e</sup> tropique of Cancer w<sup>ch</sup> hitherto are quite free

<sup>1</sup> Founded by Pedro Sarmiento after Drake's exploit.

<sup>2</sup> In 1587, 1589 and 1592.

from any Spanish government, all those large and spacious countries on y<sup>e</sup> easte parte of America from 32 to 72 degrees of northerly latitude have not, nor never had, any one Spanish colonie planted in them, but are both by right of first discovery performed by Sebastian Cabota at y<sup>e</sup> cost of King Henry ye 7th, and also of later actual possession taken on y<sup>e</sup> behalfe and under y<sup>e</sup> sovereign authoritie of hir Ma<sup>tie</sup> by ye severall deputies of S<sup>r</sup> Walter Raleigh, and by the two English colonies thither deducted (whereof the later is yet their remaining)<sup>1</sup> as likewise of Sir Humfrey Gilbert, Sir Martin Frobisher, Mr. John Davies and others, most justly and inseparably belonging to the crown of England.

Which countries being greater than all Europe, and in goodness of soile nothing inferior thereunto, are by no meanes by us to be given over unto them who have already a great deal more than they can well weild.

Lastly on the backside or west of America, beyond Cape California from 24 degrees of northerly latitude to 43 degrees (all w<sup>ch</sup> coast Sir Francis Drake in his voyage about the world discovered and took possession thereof for her Ma<sup>tie</sup> in 38 degrees, calling the country Nova Albion) they have not any foot of actual possession, much lesse more northerly. And therefore in time to come they shall have no pretense of cavillation against a north west passage, if it should please god to lay open the same.

Whether an Englishman may trade with the West Indies, with certain answers to the Popes Bull.<sup>2</sup>

First it is to be understood that the King of Spaines title to the Indies dependeth upon a guift or Bull of Pope Alexander the 6th dated 1493.

Against w<sup>ch</sup> it may be said, that the pope had no authority to subject temporally the infidels, or to take away their landes without a cause.

Secondly, the consent of the pope, if it were ratified, was only

<sup>1</sup> According to John White's view, in his letter of February 1594.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *Discourse of Western Planting*, *supra*, p. 297.

conditional and is to be understood that things already safe should be kept. And the very words of the Bull be not to grant a conquest or such an absolute power, but a meanes to convert and reduce them to Christianity: although the usage of the Spaniard hath bin otherwise, and so the graunte voide.

Thirdly, the Bull or graunte is to be understood in cases lawfull, and not tending to the prejudice of a third person.

All princes and estates had and have by the law of nature<sup>i</sup> the righte of navigation in the sea and the right of traffique, w<sup>ch</sup> the Pope by the fulnes of his authority cannot take from them: and the words of the said Bull express that the Pope did not intende to take from any Christian prince such rights as he had obtained.

Fourthly, in case any such guift or inhibition of the Pope wear lawfull, and the right were solely in the King of Spaine as he pretendeth, yet whereas after the date of the same, both his auncestors accorded and covenanted wth the king and crown of England, that the subjects on both sides might freely traffique in the kingdomes and dominions of both the parties contracting, ther is no doubt but that Englishmen may lawfully repaire into the west Indies, being parcel of the dominions, for trade and traffique of merchandize.

For the wordes of the treaties with King Ferdinand and his wife Queen Isabell of Castile, and like wise wth the Emperor Charles, are general, and generally to be understood.

And as it would be hardly taken that the king of England, contracting of free traffique and commerce in his dominions, should (for examples sake) inhibite the Spaniard to come into Irland, so the like reason is, that the king of Spaine, certainly in like sorte, should permitte only a traffique in Spaine and in no other places.

Seeing therefore that the sea and trade are common by the law of nature and of nations, it was not lawfull for the Pope, nor is it lawfull for the Spaniard, to prohibit other nations from the communication and participation of this lawe.

And if they do prohibit them from those things w<sup>ch</sup> are allowed by the lawe of nations, that is from merchandize, w<sup>ch</sup>

<sup>i</sup> For 'natural rights' cf. *supra*, p. 11.

also are due by special consideration, every man may defende himself, and resist violence by violence.

And therefore the Spanish lawiers themselves have concluded that the Venetians cannot inhibit that none but themselves shall navigate and trade w<sup>th</sup> ther Gulfe in the Adriatic Sea: neither can the Spaniards and Portugals make any such prohibition of ther Indies, to prohibite lawfull and orderly traffique, w<sup>ch</sup> right appertaineth unto all nations, by the lawe of nations, as well as unto them.

Such were the first navigations of Sir John Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, and others. And considering that the hostility and injuries offered unto them traffiquing peaceably and lawfully (w<sup>ch</sup> are to be sett downe) were both against the laws of nations, and also special treaties between both nations, they might defend themselves and lawfully continue traffique w<sup>th</sup> the Indians, both subject and not subject to the King of Spain.

And so much may be alleged for the excuse of Sir Francis Drakes first voyages into the West Indies.<sup>1</sup>

For the maintenance of the justice of his last voyages thither w<sup>th</sup> some of her mat<sup>ies</sup> ships, the first to St. Domingo and Cartagena, and the second (in w<sup>ch</sup> he died) to Nombre de Dios, being no private but publique actions, another course must be holden, viz: of injuries and hostilities declared<sup>2</sup> by the open action of the King of Spain from time to time against her mat<sup>ie</sup> and her realme, and this to be deducted particularly and at large.

Besides the cruell usage of her majesties subjects lawfully and peaceably traffiqueing with Spaine, without offence, by inquisition,<sup>3</sup> against the lawe of nations and the treaties. And this point is to be amplified by examples, and the evil usage of hir subjects traffiqueing into the Indies.

The preparation of an intended conquest, as appeared afterwards by the fleet sent under the charge of the Duke of Medina Sidonia<sup>4</sup> and such like.

#### FINIS

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.* between 1570 and 1580.

<sup>2</sup> After 1585.

<sup>3</sup> As in the case of Henry Hawks and some of Hawkins' men.

<sup>4</sup> The Armada.



## Document 73

### EPISTLE DEDICATORIE TO LORD HOWARD OF EFFINGHAM BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1598

To the right honorable my singular good Lord, the LORD CHARLES HOWARD, Erle of Nottingham, Baron of Effingham, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, Lord high Admirall of England, Ireland, and Wales, &c. one of her Majesties most honourable privie Counsell.

Right Honourable and my very good Lord, after I had long since published in Print many Navigations and Discoveries of Strangers in divers languages, as well here at London, as in the citie of Paris,<sup>1</sup> during my five yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie Knight Sir Edward Stafford your brother in lawe, her Majesties most prudent and carefull Ambassador ligier with the French King: and had waded on still farther and farther in the sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie, I began at length to conceive, that with diligent observation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular activitie in the Search and Discoverie of the most unknown quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no man to step forth to undertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but every man to folow his private affaires: the ardent love of my countrey devoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad provoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and travels, and wearying out of my weake body; at length I have collected three severall Volumes of the English Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys.<sup>2</sup> Which worke of mine I have not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though litle or nothing

<sup>1</sup> In 1582 and 1587.

<sup>2</sup> The first, single-volume, edition of the *Principal Navigations* is ignored, as courtesy required, since it was dedicated to Walsingham.

woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages; but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeeres, have brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long have lien miserably scattered in mustie corners, & retchlesly hidden in mistie darkenesse, and were very like for the greatest part to have bene buried in perpetuall oblivion. The first Volume of this worke I have thus for the present brought to light, reserving the other two untill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse.<sup>1</sup> In the meane season bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone,<sup>2</sup> I called to mind your honorable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and also in respect of the subject and matter, might justly chalenge the Patronage thereof. For first I remembred how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother Edmund Hackluyt, to whom for the space of foure whole yeeres your Lordship committed the government and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heire apparant, the lord William Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful towardlinesse full many a time hath he boasted unto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your most deare sister the lady Sheffield, my singular good lady & honorable mistresse, admonished me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the Howards. Thirdly, when I found in the first Patent graunted by Queene Marie to the Moscovie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the first favourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange and wonderfull Discoverie of Russia,<sup>3</sup> the chiefe contents of this present Volume, then I remembred the sage saying of sweet Isocrates, That sonnes ought not onely to be inheritors of their fathers substance, but also of their commendable vertues and honours. But what speake I of your ancestors honors (which to say the trueth, are very great, and such as our Chronicles have notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time have shewed themselves so admirable, as no antiquitie hath afforded

<sup>1</sup> Actually it was a year before vol. ii appeared.

<sup>2</sup> In this respect Lord Howard proved disappointing.

<sup>3</sup> The name of William, Lord Howard appears in the Company's Charter of 1555, printed by Hakluyt.

greater, and the future times will not in haste (I thinke) performe the like. To come to some particulars, when the Emperors sister, the spouse of Spaine, with a Fleete of an 130. sailes, stoutly and proudly passed the narrow Seas, your Lordship accompanied with ten ships onely of her Majesties Navie Roiall, environed their Fleet in most strange and warrelike sort, enforced them to stoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England,<sup>1</sup> and made them perfectly to understand that olde speach of the prince of Poets;

Non illi imperium pelagi sævúmque tridentem,  
sed tibi sorte datum.

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordship on her Majesties behalfe conducted her safely through our English channell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princesse. At that time all England beholding your most honorable cariage of your selfe in that so weightie service, began to cast an extraordinarie eie upon your lordship, and deeply to conceive that singular hope which since by your most worthie & wonderfull service, your L hath more then fully satisfied. I meane (among others) that glorious, triumphant, and thrise-happy victory atchieved against that huge and haultie Spanish Armada (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and sole Commander under her sacred and roiall Majestie, your noble government and worthy behavior, your high wisdom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heavenly blessing of the Almighty, are shewed most evidently to have bene such, as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall never cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternall commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage unto Cadiz, the vanquishing of part of the king of Spaines Armada, the destruction of the rich West Indian Fleete, the chasing of so many brave and gallant Gallies, the miraculous winning, sacking, and burning of that almost impregnable citie of Cadiz, the surprising of the towne of Faraon upon the coast of Portugal, and other rare appendances of that

<sup>1</sup> A similar story is told of old Admiral Howard, when Philip of Spain arrived in the Channel to marry Queen Mary.

enterprise, because they be hereafter so judiciously set downe, by a very grave and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witnesse in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly deprived no man of his right. Upon these and other the like considerations, I thought it fit and very convenient to commend with all humilitie and reverence this first part of our English Voiages & Discoveries unto your Honors favourable censure and patronage.

And here by the way most humbly craving pardon, and alwayes submitting my poore opinion to your Lordships most deep and percing insight, especially in this matter, as being the father and principall favourer of the English Navigation, I trust it shall not be impertinent in passing by, to point at the meanes of breeding up of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordship is not ignorant, that ships are to litle purpose without skilfull Sea-men; and since Sea-men are not bred up to perfection of skill in much lesse time (as it is said) then in the time of two prentiships; and since no kinde of men of any profession in the common wealth passe their yeres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and since of so many, so few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and such like instructions, these ought to have a better education, then hitherto they have had; all wise men may easily judge. When I call to minde, how many noble ships have bene lost, how many worthy persons have bene drenched in the sea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impoverished by losse of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I have greatly wished there were a Lecture of Navigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former grosse ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discover all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knownen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor devise of mine, it may please your Lordship to understand, that the late Emperour Charles the fift, considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifolde shipwracks which they susteyned in

passing and repassing betweenne Spaine and the West Indies, with an high reach and great foresight, established not onely a Pilote Major, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships in that voyage, but also founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Navigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation house at Sivil. The readers of which Lecture have not only carefully taught and instructed the Spanish Mariners by word of mouth, but also have published sundry exact and worthy treatises concerning Marine causes, for the direction and encouragement of posteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of Alonso de Chavez, of Hieronymo de Chavez, and of Roderigo Zamorano came long ago very happily to my hands,<sup>1</sup> together with the straight and severe examining of all such Masters as desire to take charge for the West Indies.<sup>2</sup> Which when I first read and duely considered, it seemed to mee so excellent and so exact a course, as I greatly wished, that I might be so happy as to see the like order established here with us. This matter, as it seemeth, tooke no light impression in the royall brest of that most renowned and victorious prince King Henry the eight of famous memory; who for the increase of knowledge in his Sea-men, with princely liberalitie erected three severall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at Deptford here upon the Thames, the other at Kingston upon Hull, and the third at Newcastle upon Tine: which last was established in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motives which induced his princely wisdom hereunto, himselfe expresseth in maner following. Ut magistri, marinarii, gubernatores, & alii officarii navium, juventutem suam in exercitatione gubernationis navium transigentes, mutilati, aut aliquo alio casu in paupertatem collapsi, aliquod relevamen ad eorum sustentationem habeant, quo non solum illi reficiantur, verumetiam alii juvenes moveantur & instigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cujus, doctiores & aptiores fiant navibus & aliis vasis nostris & aliorum quorumcunque in Mare gubernandis & manutenendis, tam pacis, quam

<sup>1</sup> The two former were eminent writers and cartographers of the middle of the century. Zamorano's *Arte de Navegar* appeared in 1582 and Edward Wright published a friend's English version in 1610. See also *supra*, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> When Hakluyt examined the captive Pedro Diaz in 1586 he no doubt came into possession of the Spanish pilot's sea manuals.

belli tempore, cum opus postulet, &c.<sup>1</sup> To descend a litle lower, king Edward the sixt that prince of peerelesse hope, with the advise of his sage and prudent Counsaile, before he entred into the North-easterne discovery, advanced the worthy and excellent Sebastian Cabota to be grand Pilot of England, allowing him a most bountifull pension of 166.li. vi.s. viii.d. by the yeere during his life, as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be seene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he delt most royally in establishing that office of Pilote Major (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miserably turned to other private uses)<sup>2</sup> so his princely Majestie would have shewed himselfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of Spaine, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Navigation. And surely when I considered of late the memorable bountie of sir Thomas Gresham, who being but a Merchant hath founded so many chargeable Lectures, and some of them also which are Mathematicall, tending to the advancement of Marine causes;<sup>3</sup> I nothing doubted of your Lordships forwardnes in settling and establishing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sorry that all this while it hath not bene erected.<sup>4</sup> As therefore

<sup>1</sup> The Trinity Houses of Hull and Deptford were incorporations of existing religious foundations for the welfare of seamen. The Deptford Charter is dated 1514, that for Hull 1457. Henry VIII merely confirmed it. The Newcastle House was founded in 1536 (see *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* vol. xi) and, as Hakluyt's quotation indicates, to the older benevolent objects was added that of advancing the practice of navigation.

<sup>2</sup> Cabot's pension of £166. 6s. 8d. (presumably by Queen Mary's orders) passed on his death, with his papers and maps, to William Worthington, who was still alive in 1582. The draft appointment of Stephen Borough as Chief Pilot is dated January 1563/4 (Lansdowne 116), but it was never implemented.

<sup>3</sup> The Gresham Lectures were first read in 1597. The subjects included Astronomy and Geometry, but their applications to navigation lay outside the scope of the endowment.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Wright, on Aug. 23, 1599, addressed Lord Howard as follows, in his Dedication of *The Haven-finding Art*: "Right honourable, being informed by my learned friend, and most effectual furtherer of Navigation for the common good of his country M. Richard Hakluyt, upon his dedication of his first volume of his Discoveries unto your Lor. about a yeare since, of the singular affection your Lor. beareth towards the advancement of knowledge and skill among our seamen in marine causes, so farre forth that to the end they might be the more stirred up and holpen this way, your Lor. would not only be a meane unto her Majestie for the establishing an ordinary Lecture to

our skill in Navigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increased under the Admiraltie of your Lordship; so if this one thing be added thereunto, together with severe and straight discipline, I doubt not but with Gods good blessing it will shortly grow to the hiest pitch and top of all perfection: which whensoever it shall come to passe, I assure my selfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discoverie of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet unknownen, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and rejoycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes. To ende this matter, let mee now I beseech you speake unto your Lordship, as in times past the elder Scipio spake to Cornelius Scipio Africanus: Quò sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, sic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conservaverint, adjuverint, auxerint, certum esse in cœlo, ac definitum locum, ubi beati ævo sempiterno fruuntur. It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordship from time to time under her most gracious and excellent Majestie, have shewed your selfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conserver, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; so at length you may enjoy those celestial blessings, which are prepared to such as tread your steps, and seeke to aspire to such divine and heroical vertues. And even here I surcease, wishing all temporal and spirituall blessings of the life present and that which is to come to be powred out in most ample measure, not onely upon your honourable Lordship, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and those two rare jewels, your generous off-springs, but also upon all the rest wheresoever of that your noble and renowned family. From London the 7. day of this present October 1598.

Your honours most humble always  
to be commanded:

*Richard Hakluyt* Preacher

be read for their instruction, but also rather then so good a purpose should fall to the ground, would be at some charges yourselfe for the bringing of it to effect...." In the end it was left to the East India Company (no doubt influenced by Hakluyt) to establish such a lecture (see *infra*, p. 510).

## Document 74

### PREFACE TO THE READER BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1598

A preface to the Reader as touching the principall  
Voyages and discourses in this first part.

Having for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many yeres, so much traveile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light, and to preserve certaine memorable exploits of late yeeeres by our English nation atchieved, from the greedy and devouring jawes of oblivion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Navigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandise by both: and having (so much as in me lieth) restored ech particular member, being before displaced, to their true joynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history) referred ech particular relation to the due time and place: I do this second time<sup>1</sup> (friendly Reader, if not to satisfie, yet at least for the present to allay and hold in suspense thine expectation) presume to offer unto thy view this first part of my three-fold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape, which here thou seest; what restlesse nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I have indured; how many long & chargeable journeys I have traveiled; how many famous libraries I have searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I have perused; what a number of old records, patents, privileges, letters, &c. I have redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I have entred; what expenses I have not spared; and yet what faire opportunities of private gaine, preferment, and ease I have neglected; albeit thy selfe canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do

<sup>1</sup> The reference is to the previous edition.



finde & feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I live and breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expenses of light value and moment unto me.

For (to conteine my selfe onely within the bounds of this present discourse, and in the midst thereof to begin) wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renowme unto our English nation, to have bene the first discoverers of a Sea beyond the North cape (never certainly knowen before) and of a convenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay of S. Nicolas and the river of Duina; as for the Portugales to have found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to have discovered unknown landes so many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of Gibraltar, & of the pillars of Hercules? Be it granted that the renowned Portugale Vasques de Gama traversed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high-spirited Genuois escried unknown landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant English knight sir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Jackman accoast Nova Zembla, Colgoieve, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Asia? Howbeit you will say perhaps, not with the like golden successe, not with such deductions<sup>1</sup> of Colonies, nor attaining of conquests. True it is, that our successe hath not bene correspondent unto theirs: yet in this our attempt the uncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, most skilfull and judicial in Cosmographie, who writ above 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called *Melpomene*, signified unto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulfes and the Mediterran sea, was on all sides environed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make

<sup>1</sup> Planting.

mention of one Neco an Ægyptian King, who (for trials sake) sent a fleet of Phœnicians downe the Red sea; who setting forth in Autumne and sailing Southward till they had the Sunne at noonetide upon their sterbourd (that is to say, having crossed the Æquinoctial and the Southerne tropique) after a long Navigation, directed their course to the North, and in the space of 3. yeeres environed all Africk, passing home through the Gaditan streites, and arriving in Ægypt? And doth not Plinie tel them, that noble Hanno, in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage, sailed from Gades in Spaine to the coast of Arabia fœlix, and put downe his whole journall in writing? Doth he not make mention, that in the time of Augustus Cæsar, the wracke of certaine Spanish ships was found floating in the Arabian gulfe? And, not to be over-tedious in alleaging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2. booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from king Lathyrus, and valing downe the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arrived at Gades? And what should I speake of the Spaniards? Was not divine Plato (who lived so many ages ago, and plainly described their West Indies under the name of Atlantis) was not he (I say) instead of a Cosmographer unto them? Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotile *lib. de admirabil. auscult.* their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to stirre them up, and pricke them forward unto their Western discoveries; yea, to be their chiefe loads-man and Pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy Nations had those bright lampes of learning (I meane the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the loadstarre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed up in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to undertake? But alas our English nation, at the first setting forth for their Northeasterne discovery, were either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any inkling at all, it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to give them encouragement.

*Lib. 2, nat.  
hist. cap. 67.*

*In Timæo.*

But besides the foresaid uncertaintie, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselves, Animus meminisse horret, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselves unto the rigour of the sterne and uncouth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling waves and boistrous winds which there commonly do surge and blow: then were they to saile by the ragged and perilous coast of Norway, to frequent the unhaunted shoares of Finmark, to double the dreadfull and misty North cape, to beare with Willoughbies land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and unlocke the seven-fold mouth of Duina. Moreover, in their Northeasterly Navigations, upon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieve, Petzora, Joughoria, Samoedia, Nova Zembla, &c. and their passing and returne through the streits of Vaigatz, unto what drifts of snow and mountaines of yce even in June, July, and August, unto what hideous overfals, uncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and divers other fearefull inconveniences they were subject and in danger of, I wish you rather to learne out of the voyages of sir Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, then to expect in this place an endlesse catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few yeeres have discovered to 78. yea (as themselves affirme) to 81. degrees of Northerly latitude: yet with this proviso; that our English nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gave them good leave to light their candle at our torch.<sup>1</sup> But now it is high time for us to weigh our ancre, to hoise up our sailes, to get cleare of these boistrous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speede to direct our course for the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, over which the Spaniards and Portugales have made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East and West Indian Navigations have indured many tempests, dangers and shipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; first that a great number of them have satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-

<sup>1</sup> An account of Barents' three voyages (1594-7) was published by Gerrit de Veer in 1598, and Hakluyt tried to arrange for its immediate translation.

thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misadventures seeme tolerable unto them; and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I doe onely stand upon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it never barred with yce, mist, or darknes, but was at all seasons of the yeere open and Navigable; yea and that for the most part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreover they had no forren prince to intercept or molest them, but their owne Townes, Islands, and maine lands to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the Portugales the Isles of the Açores, of Porto santo, of Madera, of Cape verd, the castle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conveniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yerely trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaves, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, silver, gold, and other precious wares, which served as allurements to draw them on by little and litle, and as proppes to stay them from giving over their attempts? But nowe let us leave them and returne home unto our selves.

In this Volume (friendly Reader) besides our Northeasterne Discoveries by sea, and the memorable voyage of M. Christopher Hodson, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narve, wherein with merchants ships onely, they tooke five strong and warrelike ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete: besides all these (I say) thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the advauncing of traffique by river and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Russia: as namely Richard Chancellor his first fortunate arrivall at Newnox, his passing up the river of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the space of 1100. versts, and from thence to Yaruslave, Rostove, Peraslave, and so to the famous citie of Mosco, being 1500. versts travell in all. Moreover, here thou hast his voiage penned by himselfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my selfe beholding unto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable

my lord Lumley)<sup>1</sup> wherein he describeth in part the state of Russia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the majestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himselfe. But if he being the first man, and not having so perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie satisfie your expectation in describing the foresayd countrey and people; I then referre you to Clement Adams<sup>2</sup> his relation next following, to M. Jenkinsons discourse as touching that argument, to the smooth verses of M. George Turbervile, and to a learned and excellent discourse set downe in the pages of this work. Unto all which (if you please) you may adde Richard Johnsons strange report of the Samoeds, pag. 352. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of Russia, I suppose (among the rest) that difficult journey of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas Baie, up the great river of Onega, and so by other rivers and lakes to the citie of Novogrod velica upon the West frontier of Russia, to be right woorthy of observation; as likewise that of Thomas Alcock from Mosco to Smolensko, and thence to Tirwill in Polonia, pag. 395. & that also of M. Hierome Horsey from Mosco to Vobsko, and so through Liefeland to Riga, thence by the chiefe townes of Prussia and Pomerland to Rostok, and so to Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to search into all parts of the Inland, and to view the Northren, Southerne, and Westerne frontiers, but also by the rivers of Moscua, Occa and Volga, to visite Cazan and Astracan, the farthest Easterne and Southeasterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themselves within all that maine circumference, they have adventured their persons, shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foure-teene times over the unknowen and dangerous Caspian sea; that valiant, wise, and personable gentleman M. Anthonie Jenkinson being their first ring-leader:<sup>3</sup> who in Anno 1558. sailing from Astracan towards the East shore of the Caspian sea, and there arriving at the port of Mangusla, travelled thence by Urgence

<sup>1</sup> See E. G. R. Taylor, *Tudor Geography*, for a catalogue of the geographical items in this library.

<sup>2</sup> Schoolmaster to the royal pages. E. G. R. Taylor, *loc. cit.* pp. 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Here used in a good sense.

and Shelisur, and by the rivers of Oxus and Ardok, 40. dayes journey over desert and wast countreys, to Boghar a principall citie of Bactria, being there & by the way friendly entertained, dismissed, and safely conducted by certaine Tartarian kings and Murses. Then have you a second Navigation of his performance to the South shore of the foresayd Caspian sea, together with his landing at Derbent, his arrivall at Shabran, his proceeding unto Shamaky, the great curtesie vouchsafed on him by Obdolowcan king of Hircan, his journey after of 30. dayes Southward, by Yavate, Ardouil, and other townes and cities to Casben, being as then the seate imperiall of Shaugh Thamas the great Sophy of Persia, with divers other notable accidents in his going foorth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you have set downe in five severall voiages the successe of M. Jenkinsons laudable and well-begun enterprise, under the foresayd Shaugh Thamas, under Shally Murzey the new king of Hircan, and lastly our traffique with Osman Basha the great Turkes lieutenant at Derbent. Moreover, as in M. Jenkinsons travel to Boghar the Tartars, with their territories, habitations, maner of living, apparell, food, armour, &c. are most lively represented unto you: so likewise in the sixe Persian Journals you may here and there observe the state of that countrey, of the great Shaugh and of his subjects, together with their religion, lawes, customes, & maner of government, their coines, weights and measures, the distances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and discommodities of the same.

Furthermore in this Volume, all the Ambassages and Negotiations from her Majestie to the Russian Emperor, or from him unto her Majestie, seemed by good right to chalenge their due places of Record. As namely, first that of M. Randolph, 1568. then the employment of M. Jenkinson 1571. thirdly, Sir Jerome Bowes his honorable commission and ambassage 1582. and last of all the Ambassage of M. Doct. Fletcher 1588. Neither do we forget the Emperours first Ambassador Osep Napea, his arrivall in Scotland, his most honourable entertainment and abode in England, and his dismissal into Russeland. In the second place we doe make mention of Stephen Tuerdico, and Pheodata

Pogorella; thirdly, of Andrea Savin; and lastly, of Pheodor Andrewich Phisemski. And to be briefe, I have not omitted the Commissions, Letters, Privileges, Instructions, Observations, or any other Particulars which might serve both in this age, and with all posteritie, either for presidents in such like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wise to bee buried in silence. Finally, that nothing should be wanting which might adde any grace or shew of perfection unto this discourse of Russia; I have prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the Russian Emperors and Dukes, gathered out of their owne Chronicles by a Polonian, containing in briefe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of those partes: as likewise about the conclusion, I have signified in the branch of a letter, the last Emperour Pheodor Ivanowich his death, and the inauguration of Boris Pheodorowich unto the Empire.

But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise have bene comprised within some few yeeres, or at least wise have not bene of any long continuance; let us now withdraw our selves from our affaires in Russia, and ascending somewhat higher, let us take a sleight survey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. First therefore the Reader may have recourse unto the 103 page of this Volume, & there with great delight and admiration, consider out of the judicial Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fiftene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the pages folowing he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almost 900. yeeres past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was *multorum emporium populorum*, a Mart-towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the most renoumed and victorious Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted unto all English merchants which in those dayes frequented his dominions. There may hee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake,

so many hundred yeeres since, to crosse the wide Seas, and how their industry in so doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou observe (friendly Reader) what privileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope John, of Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our English merchants Adventurers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to descend unto the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what our state of merchandise was in the time of king Stephen and of his predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat strange) was then greatly resorted unto with ships from Norway and from Ireland. There may you see the friendly league betweene king Henry the second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, and the gracious authorizing of both their merchants to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king John his favourable safe-conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to have the same privileges here in England, which our English merchants enjoied abroad in their severall countreys? Or what should I signifie unto you the entercourse of league and of other curtesies betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their subjects: or tell you what favours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hansetownes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high endes and purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all outlandish merchants whatsoever was by the same prince most graciously published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceive of the letters & negotiations which passed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Noruagian king; of our English merchants and their goods detained upon arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple, or of one onely settled Mart-towne for the uttering of English woolls & woollen fells, instituted by the sayd K. Edward last before named. All which (Reader) being throughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of king



Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the said kings and their subjects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Jungingen, and Ulricus de Jungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their subjects, with the common societie of the Hans-townes on the other partie. In all which discourse you may note very many memorable things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautelous<sup>1</sup> dealing of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most usuall kinds of wares uttered in those dayes, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well upon the coast of Norway, as every where within the sound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inveterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of the masters generall, or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise have bene utterly darke and unknowen to the greater part of Readers, I have set downe immediatly before the first Prussian ambassage, a briefe and orderly Catalogue of them all, contayning the first originall and institution of themselves and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increase of revenues and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and Germany and the great conquests which they atchieved upon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall overthrow, partly by the revolt of divers Townes and Castles under their jurisdiction, and partly by the meanes of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

After all these, out of 2. branches of 2. ancient statutes, is partly shewed our trade and the successe thereof with divers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry the sixt.

Then followeth the true processe of English policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatise *de politia conservativa maris*: which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Russia his palace called the golden Castle, and described by Richard Chancellor pag. 255. of this volume: where-

<sup>1</sup> Crafty.

of albeit the outward apparance was but homely and no whit correspondent to the name, yet was it within so beautified and adorned with the Emperour his majesticall presence, with the honourable and great assembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an invaluable and huge masse of gold and silver plate, & with other princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations astonished thereat. For indeed the exterior habit of this our English politician, to wit, the harsh and unaffected stile of his substantiall verses and the olde dialect of his wordes is such; as the first may seeme to have bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe, and the second to have proceeded from the mother of Evander: but take you off his utmost weed,<sup>1</sup> and beholde the comelinesse, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward sense and sentence; and you shall finde (I wisse) so much true and sound policy, so much delightfull and pertinent history, so many lively descriptions of the shipping and wares in his time of all the nations almost in Christendome, and such a subtile discovery of outlandish merchants fraud, and of the sophistication of their wares; that needes you must acknowledge, that more matter and substance could in no wise be comprised in so little a roome. And notwithstanding (as I said) his stile be unpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of use; yet, so neere as the written copies would give me leave,<sup>2</sup> I have most religiously without alteration observed the same: thinking it farre more convenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his spokesman; and that the Readers should enjoy his true verses, then mine or any other mans fained prose.

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a vieu of our state of merchandise under K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet provisoes, just ordinations, & gracious privileges contained in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

Now besides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North

<sup>1</sup> Outer clothing.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt evidently compared various manuscripts of the *Libel of English Policy*. Modern historians agree with his estimate of its importance.

and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts; I have not bene unmindefull (so farre as the histories of England and of other Countreys would give me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and travels of our English nation, which have bene atchieved of old. Where in the first place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridus Monumetensis, and out of M. Lambert his *Αρχαιονομία*)<sup>1</sup> I have published unto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conquest of Man and Anglesey, and the expedition of Bertus into Ireland. Next succeedeth Octer making relation of his doings, and describing the North Countreys, unto his soveraigne Lord K. Ecfrid.<sup>2</sup> After whom Wolstans Navigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewise the mariage of Harald his daughter unto the Russian duke Jeruslaus. Neither is that Englishman forgotten, who was forced to traveile with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare them company into Hungary and Poland. And because those Northeasterne Regions beyond Volga, by reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and the barbarous incivilitie of the people there inhabiting, were never yet thoroughly traveled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently knowen unto us; I have here annexed unto the said Englishmans traveile, the rare & memorable journals of 2. Friers, who were some of the first Christians that travailed farthest that way, and brought home most particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had seene. These Friers were sent as Ambassadors unto the savage Tartars (who had as then wasted and overrunne a great part of Asia, and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and sword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Gospel unto them. The former, namely Johannes de Plano Carpini (whose journey, because he road sixe moneths poste directly beyond Boristhenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre surpasses that of Alexander the great, unto the river of Indus) was in the yeere 1246. sent with the authoritie

<sup>1</sup> Published in 1568.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred.

and commission of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who passed through more garisons of the Tartars, and wandered over more vast, barren, and cold deserts, then (I suppose) an army of an hundred thousand good souldiers could have done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253. by the way of Constantinople, of the Euxin sea, and of Taurica Chersonesus imployed in an ambassage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then against the Saracens in the Holy land) unto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach sent him forthwith unto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted over many large territories unto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them have so well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and unmanerly welcomming they had at their first arrivall, what cold intertainment they felt in traveiling towards the great Can, and what slender cheere they found at his Court; that they seeme no lesse worthy of praise then of pitie. But in describing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adjacent, in setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that huge and overspreading Empire, in registering their manifolde warres and bloody conquests, in making relation of their hords and mooveable Townes, as likewise of their food, apparell and armour, and in setting downe their unmercifull lawes, their fond superstitions, their bestiall lives, their vicious maners, their slavish subjection to their owne superiours, and their disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie unto strangers, they deserve most exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man shall object that they have certaine incredible relations: I answere, first, that many true things may to the ignorant seeme incredible. But suppose there be some particulars which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly say for the Friers, that those particulars are but few, and that they doe not avouch them under their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther, imagine that they did avouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whose names you may see about the end of this Preface; every one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friers between them both? Nay,

there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleeeve ech word and syllable. Moreover sithens these two journals are so rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters unto me do testifie)<sup>1</sup> were many yeeres very inquisitive, and could not for all that attaine unto them; and sithens they have bene of so great accompt with those two famous Cosmographers, that according to some fragments of them they have described in their Mappes a great part of those Northeastern Regions; sith also that these two relations containe in some respect more exact history of those unknowen parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that ever I could set mine eyes on: I thought it good, if the translation should chance to swerve in ought from the originals (both for the preservation of the originals themselves, and the satisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely stile wherein they were first penned.<sup>2</sup> And for these two rare jewels, as likewise for many other extraordinary courtesies, I must here acknowledge my selfe most deeply bounden unto the right reverend, grave, and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Bishop of Chichester, and L. high Almner unto her Majestie;<sup>3</sup> by whose friendship and meanes I had free accesse unto the right honor. my L. Lumley his stately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts, these two journals and some others also.

After these Friers (though not in the next place) foloweth a testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dee, concerning one Nicholas de Linna an English Franciscan Frier.<sup>4</sup>

Then succeedeth the long journey of Henry Earle of Derby, and afterward king of England into Prussia & Lithuania, with a brieve remembrance of his valiant exploits against the Infidels there; as namely, that with the help of certaine his Associates, he vanquished the king of Letto his armie, put the sayd king to flight, tooke and slew divers of his captains, advanced his English colours upon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it selfe to yeeld. Then mention is made also of Tho. of Woodstock his

<sup>1</sup> No letter from Ortelius to Hakluyt has been preserved.

<sup>2</sup> Hakluyt's extreme care for exact documentation is referred to on p. 65, *supra*.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony Watson.

<sup>4</sup> Hakluyt had read Dee's manuscript, *Famous and Rich Discoveries*, written in 1576.

travel into Pruis,<sup>1</sup> and of his returne home. And lastly, our old English father Ennius, I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Geffrey Chaucer, under the person of his knight, doeth full judicially and like a cunning Cosmographer, make report of the long voiaiges and woorthy exploits of our English Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither have we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but also have scattered here and there (as the circumstance of times would give us leave) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and growth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Island: as namely, first of the great navie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigorniensis, Roger Hoveden, Rainulph of Chester, Matthew of Westminster, *Flores historiarum*, & in the *libel of English policie*, pag. 195. and 196. of this present volume. Of which Authors some affirme the sayd Fleet to have consisted of 4800. others of 4000. some others of 3600. ships: howbeit (if I may presume to gloze upon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, strength, building, or nimble stirrage unto the ships of later times, and specially of this age. But howsoever it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the sayd huge Fleet he was a most puissant prince; yea, and some of them affirme together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely soveraigne lord of all the British seas, and of the whole Isle of Britaine it selfe, but also that he brought under his yoke of subjection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adjacent. And for that most of our Navigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either utterly ignorant, or but meanelly skilfull, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds, and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland; I have for their better encouragement (if any weightie action shall hereafter chance to drawe them into those quarters) translated into English a briefe treatise called, *A Chronicle of the Kings of Man*. Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull historie of those parts, for the space almost of 300. yeeres, as also the most

<sup>1</sup> Prussia.

ordinarie and accustomed navigations, through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe. For they shall there read, that even then (when men were but rude in sea-causes in regard of the great knowledge which we now have) first Godredus Crovan with a whole Fleet of ships, thoroughly haunted some places in that sea: secondly, that one Ingemundus setting saile out of Norway, arrived upon the Isle of Lewis: then, that Magnus the king of Norway came into the same seas with 160. sailes, and having subdued the Orkney Isles in his way, passed on in like conquering maner, directing his course (as it should seeme) even through the very midst, and on all sides of the Hebrides, who sailing thence to Man, conquered it also, proceeding afterward as farre as Anglesey; and lastly crossing over from the Isle of Man to the East part of Ireland. Yea, there they shall read of Godredus the sonne of Olavus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80. ships against Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ships against him; of Godred his flight and second journey into Norway; of Sumerled his second arrival with 160. shippes at Rhinfrin upon the coast of Man, and of many other such combates, assaults, & voyages which were performed onely upon those seas & Islands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks unto the judiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden. But sithens we are entred into a discourse of the ancient warrelike shipping of this land, the Reader shall give me leave to borow one principall note out of this litle historie, before I quite take my leave thereof: and that is in few words, that K. John passed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. sailes; so great were our sea-forces even in his time. Neither did our shipping for the warres first begin to flourish with king John, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confessor, of William the Conqueror, of William Rufus and the rest, there were divers men of warre which did valiant service at sea, and for their paines were roially rewarded. All this and more then this you may see recorded, pag. 83. out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his *Perambulation of Kent*;<sup>1</sup> namely, the antiquitie of

<sup>1</sup> Published 1576.

the Kentish Cinque ports, which of the sea-townes they were, how they were infranchised, what gracious privileges and high prerogatives were by divers kings vouchsafed upon them, and what services they were tied unto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ships, how many souldiers, mariners, Garsons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furnish for the kings use; and lastly, what great exploits they performed under the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewise against the Welshmen, upon 200. French ships, and under the commaund of capitaine Henry Pay. Then have you, pag. 93. the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the first, upon the foresayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of seven hundred ships which K. Edward the third had with him unto the siege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me give you a double observation. First, that these ships, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151. persons, seeme to have bene of great burthen; and secondly, that Yarmouth an haven towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) set foorth almost twice as many ships and mariners, as either the king did at his owne costs and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England besides. Howbeit Tho. Walsingham maketh plaine and evident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the same king; namely, of 1100. shippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them sufficiently well furnished. Moreover, the Reader may behold, pag. 172. a notable testimonie of the mightie ships of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recover Harflew had hired certaine Spanish and Italian ships and forces, & had united their owne strength unto them) sent his brother John duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell, got the victory, taking some of their ships, and sinking others, and putting the residue to dishonorable flight. Likewise comming the next yeere with stronger powers, and being then also overcome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry; & propter eorum naves (saith mine Author) that is, for the resistance of their ships, the sayd king caused such huge ships to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world besides.



But to leave our ancient shipping, and descend unto later times; I thinke that never was any nation blessed of JEHOVAH, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory upon the Seas, then our vanquishing of the dreadfull Spanish Armada, 1588. But why should I presume to call it our vanquishing; when as the greatest part of them escaped us, and were onely by Gods outstretched arme overwhelmed in the Seas, dashed in pieces against the Rockes, and made fearefull spectacles and examples of his judgements unto all Christendome? An excellent discourse whereof, as likewise of the honourable expedition under two of the most noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane, the renoumed Erle of Essex, and the right honorable the lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, made 1596. unto the strong citie of Cadiz, I have set downe as a double epiphonema<sup>1</sup> to conclude this my first volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to have bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation: yet partly to satisfie the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, not longer to deprive the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long-expected discourses; I have made bold to straine a litle curtesie with that methode which I first propounded unto my selfe.<sup>2</sup>

And here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Ise-land,<sup>3</sup> and so consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way: wherein a great number of none of the meanest Historiographers and Cosmographers of later times, as namely, Munster, Gemma Frisius, Zieglerus,<sup>4</sup> Krantzius, Saxo Grammaticus,<sup>4</sup> Olaus Magnus,<sup>4</sup> Peucerus<sup>4</sup> and others, are by evident arguments convinced of manifold errors: that is to say, as touching the true situation and Northerly latitude of that Island, and of the distance thereof from other places; touching the

<sup>1</sup> A striking exclamation or illustration to conclude a discourse.

<sup>2</sup> Since the Dedication was to Lord Charles Howard, it was only politic to include these two pieces.

<sup>3</sup> By Arngrim Jonas, 1593.

<sup>4</sup> Jacobus Zieglerus, *Historia Schondiae*, included in Albertus Kranzius' *Chronicon Regnorum Aquilonarum*, 1561. Saxo Grammaticus, *Historia Danica*, 1576. Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, 1555. Gaspar Peucer, *De dimensione terrae*, 1554. All these works were very widely known and read.

length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and sea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in those Seas, of the first Discoverie and inhabiting of that Island, of the first planting of Christianitie there, as likewise of the continuall flaming of mountains, strange qualities of fountains, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie which those authors have fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatise ought to bee the more acceptable; first in that it hath brought sound trueth with it; and secondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which most men would suppose could not afford any one so learned a Patrone for it selfe.

And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the brieffe summe and scope of all my labours for the commonwealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed upon this first Volume: which if thou shalt as thankfully accept, as I have willingly and freely imparted with thee, I shall bee the better encouraged speedily to acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories, which I purpose (God willing) to publish concerning the Southerne and Westernne partes of the World.

## Document 75

### NOTE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT IN THE *PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS*, 1598

A brieffe note of the Morse and the use thereof.

In the first voyage of Jaques Carthier, wherein he discovered the Gulfe of S. Laurence and the said Isle of Ramea, in the yeere 1534, he met with these beasts, as he witnesseth in these words "About the said Island are very great beasts as great as oxen, which had two great teeth in their mouths like unto elephants' teeth, and live also in the sea. Wee saw one of them sleeping upon the banks of the water, & thinking to take it, we went to it with

our boates, but so soone as he heard us, he cast himself into the sea". Touching these beasts which Jaques Carthier saith be as big as oxen and to have teeth in their mouths like elephants' teeth: True it is that they are called in Latin *boves marini*, or *vaccae marinae*, and in the Russian tongue Mosses, the hides whereof I have seen as big as an oxen hide, and being dressed I have yet a piece of one<sup>1</sup> thicker than any two oxen or buls hides in England. The Leatherdressers take them to be excellent good to make light targets<sup>2</sup> against the arrows of the savages; and I hold them farre better then the light leather targets which the Moores use in Barbarie against arrows and lances, whereof I have seen divers in her Majesties stately armorie in the Towre of London. The teeth of the sayd fishes, whereof I have seen a dryfat full at once, are a foot and some times more in length: and have been sold in England to the combe & knife-makers, at 8 groats and 3 shillings the pound weight, whereas the best ivory is sold for halfe the money: the graine of the bone is somewhat more yellow than the ivorie. One M. Alexander Woodson of Bristoll, my old friend, an excellent Mathematician and skilful Phisition, shewed me one of these beast's teeth which were brought from the Isle of Ramea in the first prize,<sup>3</sup> which was half a yard long or very little lesse: and assured mee that he had made tryall of it in ministring medicine to his patients, and had found it as soveraigne against poyson as any Unicorne's horne.

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt had his own cabinet of curios.    <sup>2</sup> Shields.    <sup>3</sup> In 1597.

## Document 76

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1599

To the Right Honorable SIR ROBERT CECIL KNIGHT, principall Secretarie to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wardes and Liveries, and one of her Majesties most honourable privie Counsell.<sup>1</sup>

Right honorable, having newly finished a Treatise of the long Voyages of our Nation made into the Levant within the Streight of Gibraltar, & from thence overland to the South and Southeast parts of the world, all circumstances considered, I found none to whom I thought it fitter to bee presented then to your selfe: wherein having begun at the highest Antiquities of this realme under the government of the Romans; next under the Saxons; and thirdly since the conquest under the Normans, I have continued the histories unto these our dayes.<sup>2</sup> The time of the Romans affoordeth small matter. But after that they were called hence by forren invasions of their Empire, and the Saxons by degrees became lords in this Iland, and shortly after received the Christian faith, they did not onely travell to Rome, but passed further unto Jerusalem, and therewith not contented, Sigelmus bishop of Shireburne in Dorceshire caried the almes of king Alfred even to the Sepulcher of S. Thomas in India, (which place at this day is called Maliapor) and brought from thence most fragrant spices, and rich jewels into England: which jewels, as William of Malmesburie in two sundry treatises writeth, were remaining in the aforesayd Cathedrall Church to be seene even in his time. And this most memorable voyage into India is not onely mentioned by the aforesayd Malmesburie, but also by Florentius Wigorniensis, a grave and woorthy Author

<sup>1</sup> Cecil's father, Lord Burghley, had now been dead just over a year.

<sup>2</sup> The plan of volume ii is explained in the *Dedication*, and there is no *Preface to the Reader*.

which lived before him, and by many others since, and even by M. Foxe in his first volume of his Acts and Monuments in the life of king Alfred. To omit divers other of the Saxon nation, the travels of Alured bishop of Worcester through Hungarie to Constantinople, and so by Asia the lesse into Phœnicia and Syria, and the like course of Ingulphus, not long afterward Abbot of Croiland, set downe particularly by himselfe, are things in mine opinion right worthy of memorie. After the comming in of the Normans, in the yeere 1096, in the reigne of William Rufus, and so downward for the space of above 300 yeeres, such was the ardent desire of our nation to visite the Holy land, and to expell the Saracens and Mahumetans, that not only great numbers of Erles, Bishops, Barons, and Knights, but even Kings, Princes, and Peeres of the blood Roiall, with incredible devotion, courage and alacritie intruded themselves into this glorious expedition. A sufficient prooffe hereof are the voiaiges of prince Edgar the nephew of Edmund Ironside, of Robert Curtois brother of William Rufus, the great benevolence of king Henry the 2. and his vowe to have gone in person to the succour of Jerusalem, the personall going into Palæstina of his sonne king Richard the first, with the chivalrie, wealth, and shipping of this realme; the large contribution of king John, and the travels of Oliver Fitz-Roy his sonne, as is supposed, with Ranulph Glanville Erle of Chester to the siege of Damiata in Ægypt: the prosperous voyage of Richard Erle of Cornwall, elected afterward king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the 3, the famous expedition of prince Edward, the first king of the Norman race of that name; the journey of Henry Erle of Derby, duke of Hereford, and afterward king of this realme, by the name of Henry the 4. against the citie of Tunis in Africa, and his preparation of ships and gallies to go himselfe into the Holy land, if he had not on the sudden bene prevented by death; the travel of John of Holland brother by the mothers side to king Richard the 2 into those parts. All these, either Kings, Kings sonnes, or Kings brothers, exposed themselves with invincible courages to the manifest hazard of their persons, lives, and livings, leaving their ease, their countries, wives and children, induced with a Zelous devotion and ardent desire to protect and dilate the

Christian faith. These memorable enterprises in part concealed, in part scattered, and for the most part unlooked after, I have brought together in the best Method and brevité that I could devise. Whereunto I have annexed the losse of Rhodes, which although it were originally written in French,<sup>1</sup> yet maketh it as honourable and often mention of the English nation, as of any other Christians that served in that most violent siege. After which ensueth the princely promise of the bountifull aide of king Henry the 8 to Ferdinando newly elected king of Hungarie, against Solymán the mortall enemie of Christendome. These and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chivalry, I have in the first place exposed and set foorth to the view of this age, with the same intention that the old Romans set up in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy ancestors; whereof Salust in his treatise of the warre of Jugurtha, writeth in this maner: *Sæpe audiui ego Quintum maximum, Publium Scipionem, præterea civitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum majorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè animum sibi ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram, tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum flammam eam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam & gloriam adæquaverit.* I have often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were woont to say, when they beheld the images and portraitures of their ancestors, that they were most vehemently inflamed unto vertue. Not that the sayd wax or portraiture had any such force at all in it selfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breasts, and could never be quenched, untill such time as their owne valure had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing have I presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie. And here by the way if any man shall think, that an universall peace with our Christian neighbours will cut off the employment of the couragious in-

<sup>1</sup> An English translation was first published by Robert Copland in 1524.

creasing youth of this realme, he is much deceived. For there are other most convenient employments for all the superfluitie of every profession in this realme.<sup>1</sup> For, not to meddle with the state of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is under our noses the great & ample countrey of Virginia; the In-land whereof is found of late to bee so sweete and wholesome a climate, so rich and abundant in silver mines, so apt and capable of all commodities, which Italy, Spaine, and France can affoord, that the Spaniards themselves in their owne writings printed in Madrid 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in Paris,<sup>2</sup> and in a secret mappe of those partes made in Mexico the yeere before<sup>3</sup> for the king of Spaine, (which originall with many others is in the custodie of the excellent Mathematician M. Thomas Hariot)<sup>4</sup> as also in their intercepted letters come unto my hand, bearing date 1595.<sup>5</sup> they acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer countrey then Mexico and Nueva Spania it selfe. And on the other side their chiefest writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, and Francis Lopez de Gomara, the most learned Venetian John Baptista Ramusius, and the French Geographers, as namely, Popiliniere and the rest, acknowledge with one consent, that all that mightie tract of land from 67. degrees Northward to the latitude almost of Florida was first discovered out of England, by the commaundement of king Henry the seventh, and the South part thereof before any other Christian people of late hath bene planted with divers English Colonies by the royal consent of her sacred Majestie under the broad seale of England, whereof one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, alive in the countrey. Which action, if upon a good & godly peace obtained, it shal please the Almighty to stirre up her Majesties heart to continue with her favourable countenance (as upon the ceasing of the warres of Granada, hee stirred up the spirite of Isabella Queene of Castile, to advaunce the enterprise of

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt here begins a very vigorous plea for the renewal of the Virginia enterprise, and recapitulates the major arguments that he has repeatedly advanced.

<sup>2</sup> Espejo's *Viaje*.

<sup>3</sup> 1585; cf. *supra*, p. 355.

<sup>4</sup> Collected together upon Raleigh's behalf.

<sup>5</sup> Presumably brought back by the fleet that attacked the West Indies in 1595.

Columbus) with transporting of one or two thousand of her people,<sup>1</sup> and such others as upon mine owne knowledge will most willingly at their owne charges become Adventurers in good numbers with their bodies and goods; she shall by Gods assistance, in short space, worke many great and unlooked for effects, increase her dominions, enrich her cofers, and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Christ. The neglecting hitherto of which last point our adversaries daily in many of their bookes full bitterly lay unto the charge of the professors of the Gospell. No sooner should we set footing in that pleasant and good land, and erect one or two convenient Fortes in the Continent, or in some Iland neere the maine, but every step we tread would yeeld us new occasion of action, which I wish the Gentry of our nation rather to regard, then to follow those soft unprofitable pleasures wherein they now too much consume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeased, they are like to have lesse employment then nowe they have, unlesse they bee occupied in this or some other the like expedition. And to this ende and purpose give me leave (I beseech you) to impart this occurrent to your honourable and provident consideration: that in the yere one thousand five hundred eighty and seven, when I had caused the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida, at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris,<sup>2</sup> which by the malice of some too much affectioned to the Spanish faction, had bene above twentie yeeres suppressed, assoone as that booke came to the view of that reverend and prudent Counsellor Monsieur Harlac<sup>3</sup> the lord chiefe Justice of France, and certaine other of the wisest Judges, in great choler they asked, who had done such intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to have concealed that woorthie worke so long? Protesting further, that if their Kings and the Estate had thoroughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long civill warres, and the variable humours of all sortes of people might have had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest employment abroad in that large

<sup>1</sup> In Hakluyt's view the only hope of success lay in planting a considerable body of colonists, the major charge during the initial years being borne by the Crown.

<sup>2</sup> See Doc. 54, p. 350.

Probably the celebrated magistrate Achille de Harlay.



and fruitfull Continent of the West Indies. The application of which sentence unto our selves I here omit, hastening unto the summarie recapitulation of other matters contained in this worke.<sup>1</sup> It may please your Honour therefore to understand, that the second part of this first Treatise containeth our aunient trade and traffique with English shipping to the Ilands of Sicilie, Candie, and Sio,<sup>2</sup> which by good warrant herein alleaged, I find to have bene begun in the yeere 1511. and to have continued untill the yeere 1552. and somewhat longer. But shortly after (as it seemeth) it was intermitted, or rather given over (as is noted in master Gaspar Campions discreet letters to master Michael Lock and master William Winter inserted in this booke)<sup>3</sup> first by occasion of the Turkes expelling of the foure and twentie Mauneses or governours of the Genouois out of the Ile of Sio, and by taking of the sayd Iland wholie into his owne hand in Aprill, 1566. sending thither Piali Basha with fourescore gallies for that purpose; and afterward by his growing over mightie and troublesome in those Seas, by the cruell invasion of Nicosia and Famagusta, and the whole Ile of Cyprus by his lieutenant Generall Mustapha Basha. Which lamentable Tragedie I have here againe revived, that the posteritie may never forget what trust may bee given to the oath of a Mahumetan, when hee hath advauntage and is in his choler.<sup>4</sup>

Lastly, I have here put downe at large the happie renuing and much increasing of our interrupted trade in all the Levant, accomplished by the great charges and speciall industrie of the worshipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Staper, and M. William Hareborne, together with the league for traffike onely betweene her Majestie and the Grand Signior, with the great privileges, immunities, and favours obteyned of his imperiall Highnesse in that behalfe, the admissions and residencies of our Ambassadors in his stately Porch, and the great good and Christian offices which her Sacred Majestie by her extraordinary favour in that Court hath done for the king and kingdome of Poland, and other Christian

<sup>1</sup> One of the objects of Colonial promotion was to provide an outlet for men of Catholic sympathies (see *supra*, p. 120).

<sup>2</sup> Chio.

<sup>3</sup> Written in 1569-70. Campion had lived in Chio since 1540.

<sup>4</sup> William Malim's version of the *Italian Report* was published in 1572.

Princes: the traffike of our Nation in all the chiefe Havens of Africa and Egypt: the searching and haunting the very bottome of the Mediterran Sea to the ports of Tripoli and Alexandretta, of the Archipelagus, by the Turkes now called The white sea, even to the walles of Constantinople: the voyages over land and by river through Aleppo, Birrha, Babylon and Balsara, and downe the Persian gulfes to Ormuz, and thence by the Ocean sea to Goa, and againe overland to Bisnagar, Cambaia, Orixia, Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Malacca, Siam, the Iangomes, Quicheu, and even to the Frontiers of the Empire of China: the former performed diverse times by sundry of our nation, and the last great voyage by M. Ralph Fitch, who with M. John Newbery and two other consorts departed from London with her Majesties letters written effectually in their favour to the kings of Cambaia and China in the yere 1583, who in the yeere 1591. like another Paulus Venetus<sup>1</sup> returned home to the place of his departure, with ample relation of his wonderfull travailes, which he presented in writing to my Lord your father of honourable memorie.<sup>2</sup>

Now here if any man shall take exception against this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleevers, he shall shew himselfe a man of small experience in old and new Histories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or some worse humour. For who knoweth not, that king Salomon of old, entred into league upon necessitie with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Raguseans, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and have beene these many yeeres, and have used trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperor of Christendome hath had league with the Turke, and payd him a long while a pension for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath travailed the remote parts of the world, or read the Histories of this later age, that the Spaniards and Portugales in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elsewhere, have ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores, and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them pensions, and use them in their service and warres? Why then should that be blamed in us, which is usuall and

<sup>1</sup> Marco Polo.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Burghley.

common to the most part of other Christian nations? Therefore let our neighbours, which have found most fault with this new league and traffike, thanke themselves and their owne foolish pride, whereby we were urged to seeke further to provide vent for our naturall commodities. And herein the old Greeke proverbe was most truely verified, That evill counsaile proveth worst to the author and deviser of the same.

Having thus farre intreated of the chiefe contents of the first part of this second Volume, it remayneth that I briefly acquaint your Honor with the chiefe contents of the second part. It may therefore please you to understand, that herein I have likewise preserved, disposed, and set in order such Voyages, Navigations, Traffikes, and Discoveries, as our Nation, and especially the worthy inhabitants of this citie of London, have painefully performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, without the Streight of Gibraltar, upon the coasts of Africa, about the Cape of Buona Sperança, to and beyonde the East India. To come more neere unto particulars, I have here set downe the very originals and infancie of our trades to the Canarian Ilands, to the kingdomes of Barbarie, to the mightie rivers of Senega and Gambia, to those of Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, and the Isles of Cape Verde, with twelve sundry voyages to the sultry kingdomes of Guinea and Benin, to the Isle of San Thomé, with a late and true report of the weake estate of the Portugales in Angola, as also the whole course of the Portugale Caracks from Lisbon to the barre of Goa in India, with the disposition and qualitie of the climate neere and under the Equinoctiall line, the sundry infallible markes and tokens of approaching unto, and doubling of The Cape of good Hope, the great variation of the compasse for three or foure pointes towards the East betweene the Meridian of S. Michael one of the Islands of the Azores, and the aforesaid Cape, with the returne of the needle againe due North at the Cape Das Agulias, and that place being passed outward bound, the swarving backe againe thereof towards the West, proportionally as it did before,<sup>1</sup> the two wayes, the one

<sup>1</sup> Father Stevens' account of how the Portuguese found their longitude during the Cape voyage was of real importance in view of the plans for an English East Indian trade.

within and the other without the Isle of S. Laurence, the dangers of privie rockes and quicksands, the running seas, and the perils thereof, with the certaine and undoubted signes of land. All these and other particularities are plainly and truely here delivered by one Thomas Stevens a learned Englishman,<sup>1</sup> who in the yeere 1579 going as a passenger in the Portugale Fleete from Lisbon into India, wrote the same from Goa to his father in England: Whereunto I have added the memorable voyage of M. James Lancaster, who doth not onely recount and confirme most of the things above mentioned, but also doth acquaint us with the state of the voyage beyond Cape Comori, and the Isle of Ceilon, with the Isles of Nicubar and Gomes Polo lying within two leagues of the rich Island Samatra, and those of Pulo Pinaon, with the maine land of Junçalaon and the streight of Malacca. I have likewise added a late intercepted letter of a Portugall revealing the secret and most gainefull trade of Pegu, which is also confirmed by Cæsar Fredericke a Venetian, and M. Ralph Fitch now living here in London.

And because our chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall commoditie of this our Realme, the fittest places, which in al my readings and observations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Japan, & the Northern parts of China, & the regions of the Tartars next adjoyning (whereof I read, that the countrey in winter is *Assi fria como Flandes*, that is to say, as cold as Flanders, & that the rivers be strongly overfrozen) and therefore I have here inserted two speciall Treatises of the sayd Countries, one of which I hold to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thousand five hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great Carack called *Madre de Dios* two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped up almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had beene some incomparable jewell.<sup>2</sup>

But leaving abruptly this discourse, I thinke it not imperti-

<sup>1</sup> He was of New College, Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> The treatise by Duarte Sande; see *supra*, p. 59. The great carrack was captured in 1592.

ment, before I make an end, to deliver some of the reasons, that moved me to present this part of my travaux unto your Honour. The reverend antiquitie in the dedication of their workes made choise of such patrons, as eyther with their reputation and credite were able to countenance the same, or by their wisdom and understanding were able to censure and approve them, or with their abilitie were likely to stand them or theirs in steade in the ordinarie necessities and accidents of their life.

Touching the first, your descent from a father, that was accounted Pater patriæ, your owne place and credite in execution of her Majesties inward counsailes and publike services, added to your well discharging your forren imployment (when the greatest cause in Christendome was handled) have not onely drawn mens eyes upon you, but also forcibly have moved many, and my selfe among the rest to have our labours protected by your authoritie. For the second point, when it pleased your Honour in sommer was two yeeres to have some conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the state of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English.<sup>1</sup> I then (to my no small joy) did admire the exact knowledge which you had gotten of those matters of Indian Navigations: and how carefull you were, not to be overtaken with any partiall affection to the Action, appeared also, by the sound arguments which you made pro & contra, of the likelihood and reason of good or ill successe of the same, before the State and common wealth (wherein you have an extraordinarie voyce) should be farther engaged. In consideration whereof I thinke my selfe thrise happie to have these my travaux censured by your Honours so well approved judgement.<sup>2</sup> Touching the third and last motive I cannot but acknowledge my selfe much indebted for your favourable letters heretofore written in my behalfe in mine honest causes.<sup>3</sup> Whereunto I may adde, that when this worke was to passe unto the presse, your Honour did not onely intreate a worthy knight, a person of speciall ex-

<sup>1</sup> The summer of 1597; see *supra*, p. 57.

<sup>2</sup> The first edition was censored by Dr James.

<sup>3</sup> In respect of his clerical promotion; see *supra*, p. 57.

perience, as in many others so in marine causes,<sup>1</sup> to oversee and peruse the same, but also upon his good report with your most favourable letters did warrant, and with extraordinarie commendation did approve and allow my labours, and desire to publish the same. Wherefore to conclude, seeing they take their life and light from the most cheerefull and benigne aspect of your favour, I thinke it my bounden dutie in all humilitie and with much bashfulnesse to recommend my selfe and them unto your right Honorable and favourable protection, and your Honour to the mercifull tuition of the most High. From London this 24. of October. 1599.

Your Honors most humble

to be commanded,

*Richard Hakluyt* preacher

## Document 77

### NOTE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT IN THE *PRINCIPAL NAVIGATIONS*, 1600

A briefe note concerning the voyage of M. GEORGE DRAKE of Apsham to Isle of Ramea in the aforesaid year 1593.

In the beginning of the former relation written by Richard Fisher, servant to the worshipfull Master Hill of Redriffe, is, as you reade, a brief report of ther loosing of their consort, the ship of Master George Drake of Apsham, which though shee came directly to the Isle of Ramea, yet because shee was not ready so soone by two months as she ought to have been, she was not only the hinderance of her consort the *Marigolde*, and lost the season of the yere for the making of her voyage of killing the morses or sea oxen, which are to be taken in April, May and June: but also suffered the fit places and harboroughs in the

<sup>1</sup> Possibly Sir William Monson, who began writing his *Naval Tracts* in 1597, or Sir Julius Caesar, a Judge of the Admiralty Court.

Isle, which are but two, as farre as I can learne, to be forestalled and taken up by the Britons of Saint Malo and the Baskes of Saint John de Luz, by coming a day after the fayre, as we say. Which lingering improvidence of our men hath bene the overthrowe of many a worthy enterprize and of the undertakers of the same.

The relation of this voyage at large I was promised by the Author himselfe: but the same not comming to my handes in tyme, I am constrained to leave it out. The want whereof, for the better understanding of the state of the sayde Island, the frequenting of that gainefull trade by the aforesayd nations of the Britons and Baskes, may in part be supplied by the voyage of Master Charles Leigh to the sayde Island of Ramea: which also comming much too late thither, as Master George Drake had done, was wholly prevented and shutte out to his and his friendes no small detriment and mischief, and to the discouraging of others hereafter in the sayd gainefull and profitable trade.

Nevertheless, albeit hitherto the successe hath not assured our expectations through our owne default, as is abovesaid, yet I am very willing to set downe in brief & homely stile some mention of these three voyages of our owne men. The first of M. George Drake, the second of M. Silvester Wyet, the third of M. Charles Leigh, because they are the first, for ought that hitherto is come to my knowledge, of our own Nation, that have conducted English ships so farre within this gulf of S. Laurence, and have brought us true relation of the manifold gaine which the French, Britaynes, Baskes and Biskaines do yerely returne from the sayd partes: while wee this long time have stood still and have bene idle lookers on, making courtisie who should give the first adventure, or once being given, who should continue or prosecute the same.

## Document 78

### NOTES ATTRIBUTED TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1600

Certaine Reasons why the English Merchants may trade into the East Indies, especially to such rich kingdomes and dominions as are not subject to the kinge of Spayne & Portugal: together with the true limits of the Portugals conquest & Jurisdiction in those oriental parts.

Whereas, Right Honourable,<sup>1</sup> upon a treatie of peace between the crownes of England & Spayne like to ensue, y<sup>t</sup> is not to be doubted but that grete exception wil bee taken agaynst the intended voyage of Her Majesties subjects into the East Indies, by the Cape of Buena Sperança: therefore the Adventurers in the sayd intended voyage most humbly crave at yo<sup>r</sup> Honors hands, to take perfecte knowledge of these fewe considerations underwritten.

First, they desire that it wold please yo<sup>r</sup> Honors to urge the Commissioners of the Spanish peace, to put downe, under their hands, the names of al such islands, cities, townes, places, castels and fortresses as they are actually at this present possessed of, from the sayde Cape of Buena Sperança along the Cost of Africa, on the Cost of Arabia, in the East Indies, the Malucos, and other oriental parts of the world; which, if they may bee drawne truly and faythfully to put downe, so that wee cannot be able manifestly to prove the contrarie, then wil wee be content, in noe sort to disturb nor molest them, wheresoever they are alreadie commanders and in actual authoritie.

Secondly, if they wil not by any meanes bee drawne to this themselves, then wee, for yo<sup>r</sup> Lordshippes perfect instruction in this behalfe, wil take paynes to doe it for them. Y<sup>t</sup> may please yo<sup>r</sup> honors, therefore, to understand, that these bee al the islands, cities, townes, places, castles & fortresses, whereof they be, at this present, actual commanders, beyond the Cape of Buena Sperança eastward.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Cecil and the Privy Council.



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<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Cecil and the Privy Council.

*On the Coste of Africa:*

Sofala or Zefala, Masambique, Sena.

*In the Mouth of the Persian Gulfe:*

Ormuz.

*From the Persian Gulfe along the Coste of India, Southward:*

Diu, Damaon, Baçaim, Chaul, Goa, the seat of the Viceroy, Onor, Barçelor, Mengalor, Cananor, Cranganor, Cochin, Coulaom, St. Thomé or Malipur, Negapatam, Manar, Columbo in Ceilon, Malaca, Maluco or Tidore, Amboyna, Macao, Manilla, in the island of Luçon, one of the Philippinas, and certayne other forts upon that island.

Thirdly, al the places which are under their government and command, being thus exactly and truly put downe, and wee being able to avouch it to be so, by many evident & invincible proofes, and some eye-witnesses, if need require; y<sup>t</sup> then remayneth, that al the rest rich kingdoms and islands of the East, which are in number very many, are out of their power and jurisdiction, and free for any other princes or people of the world to repayre unto, whome the soveraigne lords and governors of those territories wil bee willing to admitte into their dominions:— a chiefe parte whereof are these here ensueinge:

*The names of the chiefe townes Islands and Kingdomes, beyond the Cape of Buena Sperança, wholly out of the dominion of the Portugalls & Spaniards, in the East, Southeast and Northeast Parts of the World.*

The Isle of Madagascar or San Lorenzo, upon the backside of Africa.

The kingdome of Orixá, Bengala, or Amcan, in the Gulfe of Bengala.

The rich & mighty kingdome of Pegu.

The kingdome of Junçalon.

The kingdome of Siam.

The kingdome of Camboia.

The kingdome of Cauchin China.

The most mightie & welthy Empire of China.

The rich & goulden island of Sumatra.

The whole islands of Java Major, Java Minor & Baly.

The large & rich islands of Borneo, Celebes, Gilolo & Os Papuas.

The long tracte of Nova Guinea and the Isles of Solomon.

The rich & innumerable islands of Malucos and the Spicerie, excepte the two smal isles of Tidore & Amboyno, where the Portugals have only two smal forts.

The large islands of Mindanao & Calamines.

The goulden islands of the greate & smal Lequeos.

The manifold & populous sylver islands of the Japoncs.

The countrey of Coray, newly discovered in the north east.

In all these & infinite places more, abounding with greate welthe & riches, the Portugals & Spaniards have not any castle, forte, blockhouse or commaundment, as wee are able to prove by these authors or witnesses following:

*Portugalle Authors, printed & written:*

Fernando Lopes de Castaneda, his larg volumes of ye East Indies.

John Barros, his 3 decads of Asia.

Antonio Galvano, of the Discoverers of the New World.<sup>1</sup>

Hieronymus Osorius, de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis.

Duarte Sande, printed at Macheo, in China, 1590.<sup>2</sup>

The noble intercepted Register, or Matricula, of the whole government of the East India, in the Madre de Deos, 1592.

*Spanish Authors printed in Spayne:*

Gonsalvo de Oviedo, chronicler for the West Indies to Charles the V.

John Gaetan.

Francis Lopez de Gomera.

*Italiens:*

The first volume of John Baptista Ramusius.

Caesar Frederic, which lived 18 yeres in ye East Indies and returned 1581.

Petrus Maffcus, printed within these 7 yeres.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not yet published by Hakluyt, but in his possession.

<sup>2</sup> Part of the spoils of the *Madre de Dios*, the *Description of China*.

<sup>3</sup> G. P. Maffcius, *Historiarum Indicarum libri xvi*, 1593.

*Englishmen personally in the Malucos, Java and many other parts of the East Indies:*

Sir Francis Drake's men, yet living, and his own writings printed.

Mr. Thomas Candishes Companye, yet living, and his writings printed.

Mr. Ralph Fitches travayles through most of the Portugal Indies, in print.

Mr. James Lancasters and his companyes voyage, as farre as Malaca, printed.<sup>1</sup>

*Hollanders:*

John Huygen de Linschoten's worke, which lived about 7 yeres in India.

The first voyage of the Hollanders to Java & Baly, in printe.

The second voyage to Java, in Dutch & English.

The testimonie of William Pers, Englishman, with them in ye sayd voyage.

The third returne of the Hollanders from the Est Indies this yere.

Fourthly, let them shewe any juste or laweful reasons, voyd of affection and partialitie, why they should barre her Majestie and al other Christian princes & states, of the use of the waste, wyde & infinitely open ocean sea, & of accesse to the territories & dominions of so many free princes, kings & potentates in the East in whose dominions they have noe more sovereign command or authoritie then wee, or any Christians whosoever.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> All in the *English Voyages*.

<sup>2</sup> Foulke Greville, treasurer of the Navy, replies to this note in a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, with a summary "out of Osorius, Edens Decades & specially out of the voyges of John Huighen, having neyther meanes nor tyme to seake other helpes, . . . London, 10 March 1599 (1600)".

## Document 79

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1600

To the right honourable SIR ROBERT CECIL Knight, principall Secretary to her Majestie, master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, and one of her Majesties most honourable privie Council.

Right honourable, your favourable acceptance of my second volume of *The English voyages* offred unto you the last yere, your perusing of the same at your convenient leasure, your good testimony of my selfe and of my travailes therein, together with the infallible signes of your earnest desire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought least thereof, brake forth into most bountiful and acceptable effects:<sup>1</sup> these considerations have throughly animated and encouraged me to present unto your prudent censure this my third and last volume also. The subject and matter herein contained is the fourth part of the world, which more commonly then properly is called America: but by the chiefest authors *The new world*. New, in regard of the new and late discovery thereof made by Christopher Colon, aliàs Columbus, a Genouois by nation, in the yere of grace 1492. A world, in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day is not throughly discovered, neither within the Inland nor on the coast, especially toward the North and Northwest, although on the hither side it be knowen unto us for the space of five thousand leagues at the least, compting and considering the trending of the land, and for 3000. more on the backside in the South Sea from the Streight of Magellan to Cape Mendocino and Nova Albion. So that it seemeth very fitly to be called *A newe worlde*. Howbeit it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had some kinde of dimme glimse, and unperfect notice thereof.

<sup>1</sup> In the grant to Hakluyt of the reversion of the next vacant prebend in Westminster Abbey, 27 Aug. 1600.

Which may appeare by the relation of Plato in his two worthy dialogues of Timæus and Critias under the discourse of that mighty large yland called by him Atlantis, lying in the Ocean sea without the Streight of Hercules, now called the Streight of Gibraltar, being (as he there reporteth) bigger then Africa & Asia: And by that of Aristotle in his booke De admirandis auditionibus of the long navigation of certaine Carthaginians, who sayling forth of the aforesaid Streight of Gibraltar into the maine Ocean for the space of many dayes, in the ende found a mighty and fruitfull yland, which they would have inhabited, but were forbidden by their Senate and chiefe governours. Moreover, above 300. yeeres after these wee have the testimony of Diodorus Siculus lib. 5. cap. 7. of the like mighty yland discovered in the Western Ocean by the Tyrrheni, who were forbidden for certaine causes to inhabite the same by the foresaid Carthaginians.<sup>1</sup> And Seneca in his tragedie intituled Medea foretold above 1500. yeeres past, that in the later ages the Ocean would discover new worlds, and that the yle of Thule would no more be the uttermost limite of the earth. For whereas Virgile had said to Augustus Cæsar, Tibi serviat ultima Thule, alluding thereunto he contradicteth the same, and saith, Nec sit terris ultima Thule.<sup>2</sup> Yea Tertullian one of our most ancient and learned divines, in the beginning of his treatise de Pallio alludeth unto Plato his Western Atlantis, which there by another name he calleth Aeon, saying, Aeon in Atlantico nunc quæritur. And in his 40. chapter de Apologetico he reporteth the same to be bigger then all Africa and Asia. Of this New world and every speciall part thereof in this my third volume I have brought to light the best & most perfect relations of such as were chiefe actours in the particular discoveries and serches of the same, giving unto every man his right, and leaving every one to mainteine his owne credit. The order observed in this worke is farre more exact, then heretofore I could attaine unto: for whereas in my two former volumes I was enforced for lacke of sufficient store, in divers places to use the methode of time onely (which many worthy authors on the like occasion are enforced unto)

<sup>1</sup> For these stories see Cary and Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers*.

<sup>2</sup> This famous prophecy of Seneca was quoted by Eden in his *Decades*.

being now more plentifully furnished with matter, I alwayes follow the double order of time and place. Wherefore proposing unto my selfe the right situation of this New world, I begin at the extreme Northerne limite, and put downe successively in one ranke or classis, according to the order aforesaide, all such voyages as have bene made to the said part: which comming all together, and following orderly one upon another, doe much more lighten the readers understanding, and confirme his judgement, then if they had bene scattered in sundry corners of the worke. Which methode I observe from the highest North to the lowest South. Now where any country hath bene but seldome hanted, or any extraordinary and chiefe action occur-reth, if I finde one voyage well written by two severall persons, sometimes I make no difficultie to set downe both those journals, as finding divers things of good moment observed in the one, which are quite omitted in the other. For commonly a souldier observeth one thing, and a mariner another, and as your honour knoweth, *Plus vident oculi, quàm oculus*. But this course I take very seldome and sparingly. And albeit my worke do carry the title of The English voyages, aswell in regard that the greatest part are theirs, and that my travaile was chiefly undertaken for preservation of their memorable actions, yet where our owne mens experience is defective, there I have bene careful to supply the same with the best and chiefest relations of strangers. As in the discovery of the Grand Bay, of the mighty river of S. Laurence, of the countries of Canada, Hochelaga, and Saguenay, of Florida, and the Inland of Cibola, Tiguex, Cicuic, and Quivira, of The gulfes of California, & the Northwesterne sea-coast to Cabo Mendocino and Sierra Nevada: as also of the late & rich discovery of 15. provinces on the backside of Florida and Virginia, the chiefest wherof is called the kingdome of New Mexico, for the wealth, civil government, and populousnesse of the same. Moreover, because since our warres with Spaine, by the taking of their ships, and sacking of their townes and cities, most of all their secrets of the West Indies, and every part thereof are fallen into our peoples hands (which in former time were for the most part unknowne unto us,) I have used the uttermost of my best endeavour, to get, and having gotten, to translate



out of Spanish, and here in this present volume to publish such secrets of theirs, as may any way availe us or annoy them,<sup>1</sup> if they drive and urge us by their sullen insolencies, to continue our courses of hostilitie against them, and shall cease to seeke a good and Christian peace upon indifferent and equal conditions.<sup>2</sup> What these things be, and of how great importance your honour in part may understand, if it please you to vouchsafe to reade the Catalogues conteyning the 14. principal heads of this worke. Whereby your honor may farther perceive that there is no chiefe river, no port, no towne, no citie, no province of any reckoning in the West Indies, that hath not here some good description thereof, aswell for the inland as the sea-coast. And for the knowledge of the true breadth of the Sea betweene Nova Albion on the Northwest part of America, and the yle of Japan lying over against the kingdomes of Coray and China, which until these foure yeeres was never reveiled unto us, being a point of exceeding great consequence, I have here inserted the voyage of one Francis Gualle a Spaniard made from Acapulco an haven on the South sea on the coast of New Spaine, first to the Philippinas, and then to the citie of Macao in China, and homeward from Macao by the yles of Japan, and thence to the back of the West Indies in the Northerly latitude of 37. degrees  $\frac{1}{2}$ .<sup>3</sup> In which course betweene the said ylands and the maine he found a wide and spacious open Ocean of 900. leagues broad, which a little more to the Northward hath bene set out as a Streight, and called in most mappes The Streight of Anian. In which relation to the viceroy hee constantly affirmeth three severall times, that there is a passage that way unto the North parts of Asia. Moreover, because I perceive by a letter directed by her Majestie to the Emperour of China (and sent in the last Fleet intended for those parts by The South Sea under the charge of Benjamin Wood, chiefly set out at the charges of sir Robert Dudley, a gentleman of excellent parts)<sup>4</sup> that she useth her princely mediation for obtaining of freedome of traffique for

<sup>1</sup> Besides intercepted letters, Hakluyt published pilot's rutters taken from Spanish vessels.

<sup>2</sup> Negotiations for peace were being carried on (see *supra*, p. 59).

<sup>3</sup> Gualle's voyage of 1584 was translated into Dutch by Linschoten.

<sup>4</sup> Son of Lady Sheffield.

her marchants in his dominions, for the better instruction of our people in the state of those countries, I have brought to light certaine new advertisements of the late alteration of the mightie monarchie of the confronting yle of Japan, and of the new conquest of the kingdome of Coray, not long since tributarie to the king of China, by Quabacondono the monarch of all the yles and principedomes of Japan; as also of the Tartars called Jezi, adjoyning on the East & Northeast parts of Coray, where I thinke the best utterance of our natural and chiefe commoditie of cloth is like to be, if it please God hereafter to reveile unto us the passage thither by the Northwest.<sup>1</sup> The most exact and true information of the North parts of China I finde in an history of Tamerlan, which I have in French, set out within these sixe yeres by the abbat of Mortimer, dedicated to the French king that now reigneth, who confesseth that it was long since written in the Arabian tongue by one Alhacen a wise and valiant Captaine, employed by the said mighty prince in all his conquests of the foresaid kingdome. Which history I would not have failed to have translated into English, if I had not found it learnedly done unto my hand.<sup>2</sup>

And for an appendix unto the ende of my worke, I have thought it not impertinent, to exhibite to the grave and discreet judgements of those which have the chiefe places in the Admiraltie and marine causes of England, Certaine briefe extracts of the orders of the Contractation house of Sivil in Spaine, touching their government in sea-matters; together with The streight and severe examination of Pilots and Masters before they be admitted to take charge of ships, aswell by the Pilot mayor, and brotherhood of ancient Masters, as by the Kings reader of The lecture of the art of Navigation, with the time that they be enjoyned to bee his auditors, and some part of the questions that they are to answere unto.<sup>3</sup> Which if they finde good and beneficial for our seamen, I hope they wil gladly imbrace and imitate, or finding out some fitter course of their owne,

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt believed in a north-west rather than a north-east passage at this date.

<sup>2</sup> The French version of Jean du Bec was translated and published by 'H. M.' in 1597.

<sup>3</sup> Information obtained in 1586.

will seeke to bring such as are of that calling unto better government and more perfection in that most laudable and needfull vocation.<sup>1</sup> To leave this point, I was once minded to have added to the end of these my labours a short treatise, which I have lying by me in writing, touching The curing of hot diseases incident to travelers in long and Southerne voyages, which treatise was written in English, no doubt of a very honest mind, by one M. George Wateson, and dedicated unto her sacred Majestie.<sup>2</sup> But being carefull to do nothing herein rashly, I shewed it to my worshipfull friend M. doctour Gilbert, a gentleman no lesse excellent in the chieftest secrets of the Mathematicks (as that rare jewel<sup>3</sup> lately set foorth by him in Latine doeth evidently declare) then in his owne profession of physicke: who assured me, after hee had perused the said treatise, that it was very defective and unperfect, and that if hee might have leasure, which that argument would require, he would either write something thereof more advisedly himselfe, or would conferre with the whole Colledge of the Physicions, and set downe some order by common consent for the preservation of her Majesties subjects. Now as the foresaid treatise touched the cure of diseases growing in hot regions, so being requested thereunto by some in authoritie they may adde their judgements for the cure of diseases incident unto men employed in cold regions, which to good purpose may serve our peoples turnes, if they chance to prosecute the intermitted discovery by the Northwest, whereunto I finde divers worshipfull citizens at this present much inclined.<sup>4</sup> Now because long since I did foresee, that my profession of divinitie, the care of my family, and other occasions might call and divert me from these kinde of endeavours, I have for these 3. yeeres last past<sup>5</sup> encouraged and furthered in these studies of Cosmographie and forren histories, my very honest, industrious, and learned friend M. JOHN PORY, one of speciall skill and extraordinary hope to performe great matters in the same, and beneficial for the common wealth.

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt was quietly pertinacious in this important matter.

<sup>2</sup> Published in 1598.

<sup>3</sup> The famous *De Magnete*, published in 1600.

<sup>4</sup> The search had been in abeyance since 1587.

<sup>5</sup> The years 1598-1600.

Thus Sir I have portrayed out in rude lineaments my Westerne Atlantis or America: assuring you, that if I had bene able, I would have limned her and set her out with farre more lively and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I humbly desire you to receive her with your wonted and accustomed favour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine most ready and devoted to do your honour any poore service that I may; and in the meane season will not faile unfainedly to beseech the Almighty to powre upon you the best of his temporall blessings in this world, and after this life ended with true and much honour, to make you partaker of his joyes eternall. From London the first of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.<sup>1</sup>

Your Honours most humble to  
be commanded,

*Richard Hakluyt, Preacher.*

## Document 80

### NOTE BY RICHARD HAKLUYT IN JOHN PORY'S *HISTORIE OF AFRICA*, 1600

An approbation of the historie ensuing, by me Richard Hakluyt. Being moved to publish mine opinion as touching this present Historie of John Leo; I do hold & affirme it to be the verie best the most particular, and methodicall, that ever was written, or at least that hath come to light, concerning the countries, peoples & affairs of Africa. For which cause, and knowing well the sufficiencie of the translator, my selfe was the first and only man that persuaded him to take it in hand. Wherein how diligently and

<sup>1</sup> In this year, we read in Camden's *Annals*: "The Queene, nevertheless, for the increase of Navigation, the honour of the Kingdome & the amplification of Commerce instituted in those daies a Company or Society of East Indian Merchants with large privileges: who sent thither with three ships James Lancaster, whom wee have spoken of in the yeere 1594, that he valiently wonne Pernembuck in Brasil."

faithfully he hath done his part; and how he hath enlarged and graced this Geographically historie out of others, the best ancient and moderne writers, by adding a description of all those African maine lands and isles, and other matters verie notable, which John Leo himselfe hath omitted: I refer to the consideration of all judiciall and indifferent Readers.

*Richard Hakluyt*<sup>1</sup>

## Document 81

### NOTES DRAWN UP BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1601<sup>2</sup>

*This noat  
was made in  
February  
1600.*<sup>3</sup>

The chief places where sundry sorte of spices do growe in the East Indies, gathered out of sundry the best and latest authours by R. Hakluyt.

#### *The places where Peper groweth*

The greatest parte of the peper brought by the Portugales out of the East Indies unto Lisbon groweth in the country of Malabar, and is imbarqued at the townes of Onor, Barzelor, Mangalor, Cananor, Crangenor, Cochin & Coulan. All which places are in the Portugales possession. It groweth also about Calicut, but the kinge of Calicut and they are seldome in amity.

<sup>1</sup> John Pory wrote in his Dedication to Sir Robert Cecil: "... vouchsafe therefore (right Honourable) according to your accustomed humanitie towards learning, to accept of this Geographicall historie, in like manner as it pleased your Honour not long since most favourablie to take in good part those commendable indeavours of my reverend friend M. Richard Hakluyt: who out of his mature judgement in these studies, knowing the excellencie of this storie above all others in the same kinde, was the only man that mooved me to translate it."

<sup>2</sup> These notes were made at the request of the East India Company, as appears by an entry for Jan. 29, 1601: "Mr. Hacklett, the historiographer of the viages of the East Indies, being here before the Committies, and having read unto them out of his notes & bookes divers instruccions for provisions of jewelless, was required to sett down in writing a note of the principall places in the East Indies wher trade is to be had, to thend the same may be used for the better instruccion of o<sup>r</sup> factors in the said voyage." *Court Book*, i. 45-51.

<sup>3</sup> 1601, new style.

*Places yielding Peper out of the Portugales jurisdiction*

First, in the Isle of Zeilon—Caesar Frederick, Cap. De Zeilon, and John Huighen de Linschoten.

*Places where Peper groweth in the Isle of Sumatra*

- |           |              |
|-----------|--------------|
| 1. Daia   | 6. Andragiri |
| 2. Achen  | 7. Jambe     |
| 3. Pedir  | 8. Speriamon |
| 4. Pacem  | 9. Baros     |
| 5. Camper | 10. Dampin   |

*Margin:* Out of the first voiage of the Holanders in Latin & French, cap. 15 & 20.<sup>1</sup>

*Places where Peper groweth in the Isle of Java Major*

Out of the first voyage of the Hol., cap. 15 & 20.

- |               |                            |
|---------------|----------------------------|
| 1. Pariban    | 10. Anier                  |
| 2. Cheruguin  | 11. Bantam                 |
| 3. Buama      | 12. Punctan                |
| 4. Labuan     | 13. Panarucan, where longe |
| 5. Cherola    | peper groweth as also in   |
| 6. Charita    | Pegu & Bengala, Gons.      |
| 7. Meleassari | de Ovied. and Caes.        |
| 8. Cangabaia  | Fred., in the end of his   |
| 9. Chuconin   | discourse.                 |

Peper also groweth in Quaeda on the maine of Malaca over against Achen. *Linsch.* cap. 17, and the 1 *Voy. of the Hol.* cap. 17.

It groweth also in the kingdome of Patané on the east side of the sayde maine of Malaca. *Hist. of China.* cap. 22.

It groweth likewise in the kingdome of Siam. *Ibidem.*

Also it groweth in the territories neere Malaca. *Linsch.* cap. 62.

Item. There groweth excellent peper in the Isles of Nicubar somewhat to the north of Sumatra. *Hist. China.* cap. 25.

There groweth also longe peper in the Isle of Baratene, as appeareth by the testimony of Sir Frances Drake, in the 3rd volume of my *English Voiages*, pag. 741.

The price of peper may be read in *Linsch.* pag. 161.

<sup>1</sup> Cornelis Houtman: *Den eerste schipvaerd der Hollandsche Natie naer Oost Indien.*

*The places where Sinamon groweth*

The best sinamon groweth in the Isle of Zeilon the kinge whereof is the Portugales mortall enemy, where nevertheless they have a small forte called Colombo.

*Caes. Fred. Cap. De Zeilon.*

Wild cinamon called by the Portugales Canella de Mato, groweth in the Malabar, on the back side of Cochin and is brought in greate quantity into Europe for the best. *Linsch. cap. 14.*

In the Isle of Nicubar lying to the north-west of Sumatra, between the latitude of 6 and 10 degrees, are many trees of sinamon which is the best in all the world and is sold at small price. *Hist. China. cap. 25.*

Likewise there groweth in the Isle of Java, and on the maine by Malaca. *Linsch. cap. 63.*

*The places where Cloves do growe*

Cloves do growe in the isles of Maluco, namely in Tarenate, Tidore, Motela, Machian, Bachian, Alatura, on the north west end of the Isle of Ceiran, & in the isles of Amboino.

In the isles of Tidore and Ambonio the Portugales have two small fortes, as appeareth by the greate Italian map taken in the *Madre de Dios* which I have translated and caused to be drawne for the Company.

Great store of cloves are to be sold in Bantam.

Cloves are also brought from Siam to Malaca. *Hist. China. cap. 22.*

*The places where Nuttmegges & Mace do growe*

Nuttmeggs and maces grow chiefly in the Isle of Banda and the seven small isles thereto adjoyninge.

They likewise grow in three other islands greater than Banda, lying to the north-west thereof, called Ama, Liazer, and Rucellas. As appeareth out of the foresayd greate Italian map.

Nuttmegges also come from the greate Isle of Borneo. *Hist. China. cap. 22.*

Sir Francis Drake found nuttmeggs, ginger & longe peper, growing in the Isle of Baratave. Vol. 3 of my *English Voi.* pag. 741.

Nuttmeggs also grow in the isle of Java & Sunda. *Linsch. cap. 66.*

*Places where Camphora groweth*

The best camphora groweth in canes, in the Isle of Borneo.

It groweth also about Chinchén, in a city of China.

It groweth likewise in the isles of Sumatra & Java.

It is much used in medicines and is one of the richest wares of India. *Linsch.* cap. 80. & *the 1 Voy. of the Hol.* p. 14.

*Anil, or Indico*

It groweth in Cambaya, but it is sold good cheepe in Bantam, the chief city of Java. *The 1 Voy. of the Hol.* p. 20.

*Amber*

It is found on the coaste of Africa, about Sofala, Mozambique & Malinde. [Margin] Amber is of colour grey and black, but the black is the best.

It is also found neere the Isles of Maldivar, as likewise on the coast of China. *Linsch.* cap. 70.

Much is brought also from the West Indies, and from the coast of Florida, which is of two sortes, liquid amber and clare amber.

*Muske*

Muske cometh from Tartaria and from China.

It is often falsified by the Chinois & Jewes. *Caes. Fred.* pag. 38, and *Linsch.* cap. 70.

*Civet*

Civet, called by the Portugales, Algalia, is fownd in Bengala, which the people falsifie: but the best cometh from the Nina, on the coast of Guinie, and from the isles of Cabo verde. *Linsch.* cap. 70.

*Benjamin*

Benjamin groweth much in the kingdome of Siam, and also in the island of Sumatra, and in the isles of Java, and in the country neere unto Malaca. There are two sortes, white and black. The black is best, which groweth out of the youngest trees. *Linsch.* cap. 71. It is one of the costliest druggs of all the East, because it excelleth all other in sweetness.



*Frankincense*

Frankincense, called in Latin, *Thus*, groweth in Arabia Felix. The best is white, like drops, and is called male: the worst is black, both are the gum of a tree. *Linsch. cap. 72.*

*Myrrhe*

Myrrhe groweth like benjamin & frankincense, and cometh out of Arabia Felix, and out of the country of the Abassins. *Ibidem.*

*Manna*

Manna cometh out of Arabia & Persia, but most out of the province of Usbeke, lying behind Persia, in Tartarie. There be foure sortes thereof: 1, whitish, 2, reddish, 3, that which commeth in great peces, with the leaves among it; the 4th kind is brought in lether bags, and is melted like hony, and is of a white colour. *Linsch. cap. 73.*

*Rheubarbe*

Rheubarbe groweth about Campion, a province and citty lying north of China. It is most brought by land through the contry of Usbeke, lying to the east of Persia in Tartarie, and adjoyning to Persia on the back side of India, and so commeth to Ormus, and thence to Sumatra & Java. The best is brought for the most parte over land to Venice. Read *Ramusius* in the preface of his 2 volume.

Rheubarbe also groweth abundantly in the country of Malabar.

It also cometh from Cathaio or China to Malaca by water. *Ramus. vol. ii, cap. 323, and Linsch. cap. 37.*

*Sandals or Sanders*

Sandals, or Sanders, are of three sorts, white, yellow, and red. The white and the yellow which is the best, come from the island next adjoyning on the west, whither the Captaine of Malaca sendeth yearly a shippe. *Caes. Fred. fo. 19.* The red sanders grow in Coromandel & Tenasserri, on the coast of Pegu. *Linsch. cap. 74.*

*Snakewood or Palo da cobra*

Snakewood, or palo da cobra, groweth most in the isle of Zeilon. One ounce thereof bruised and mixed with water is

good against all poison & sicknes, and the stinginge of snakes, whereof it hath the name. Wherefore it is now much brought and carryed into all countreyes, especially into Portugale & thence hither. *Linsch.* cap. 75.

*Lignum aloes or Calamba*

The lignum aloes which in India is called Calamba and Palo d'aguilla, is most plentiful in Malaca, in the Isle of Sumatra, Camboya, Siam, and the countries borderinge on the same. The best and finest is called Calamba, and the other Palo d'aguilla. The Calamba, yf it be good, is sold by weight against silver & gold. *Linsch.* cap. 76.

*The Root of China*

The roote of China beinge a most soveraigne remedie against the French poxe, is very common, and so good cheape in the Indies, that it is not worth above halfe a pardao the pound, which is a teston and a halfe of Portugale money. The best rootes are the blackest, with few knotts, and white within. They grow in no place but in China. *Linsch.* cap. 77.

Of opium, tamarindi, mirabolons, spikenard, also zocotrina, anacardi, calamus aromaticus, costus, cubebes, galanga, etc. read *Linsch.* from the 78 to the 93 chapter, where you shall find their proper names in the Indies, the places where they growe, the several kindes of them, their uses, prices, etc.

Of the severall prices of precious stones and spices, with their weights and measures, as they were accustomed to be sold by the Moores & Gentiles, as also of the places where they growe, I have 3 severall treatises: one of *Ramusius*, in Italian and English, the second, of *Caes. Fred.* in English, and the third, in my first volume of *English Voyages*.

Of the prices of pearles and certaine pretious stones I delivered your worships a note in Portuguese and English, and more may be fownd thereof in *Linsch.* cap. 84 & 91.

Likewise I have delivered you a catalogue of the severall commodities good for the East Indies, whereof since I have found a greater number. I have also provided for you two copies of that

large Italian intercepted map of the Malucos,<sup>1</sup> the notes whereof, for the better understanding, are translated into English.

I have also large notes of 20 yeares observation<sup>2</sup> concerning the north-west passage, which your worships shall command yf you shall have occasion to use the same.

Certain notes gathered of such as have had much familiaritie with the Portugales that trade in the East Indies, by Richard Hakluyt.

1. Iron wyer
2. Axes & hatchets heads
3. Cutting hookes
4. Ivory combes & boxe combes
5. Spectacles
6. Amber of Danske yelowes in greate request
7. Emraulds wrought
8. Saphires
9. Waxe candles used in there mesquitoses and pagodas
10. False sylver lace and false sylver threed
11. False gold lace and false gold threed in greate quantitie to decke there hangings and garments
12. Cruses or potts of red & white earth, such as they melt gold & sylver in, packed up in bran in pipes & barels

A jueller, a paynter, and certayne musisians are very necessarie for the voyage.

But above al others, a trustie interpretour in the Easterne Arabian tongue, for by using the Portugal tonge, you are in greate danger of being betrayed, as the Hollanders were 7 tymes in their first voyage.

*Margin:* If you goe without a smal barke or 2, I compte your voyage half overthrowne, before you goe forth.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Taken from the *Madre de Dios*, 1592.

<sup>2</sup> Since 1580, or earlier. Summarised in the *Discourse of Western Planting*, and since enlarged.

<sup>3</sup> Hakluyt's services in providing notes and maps were paid for, as the following entries show: Feb. 16, 1601. Warrant for £10 to Mr Hakluyt: "for his travelles, taken in instruccions & advyses touching the preparing of the voyage, and for his former advyses in setting the voyage in hand the last yere", also "30s. for three mappes by him provided & delivered to the Company". *Court Book*, i. 51-64.

## Document 82

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO SIR ROBERT CECIL BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1601<sup>1</sup>

To the Right Honorable, SIR ROBERT CECILL Knight, principall Secretarie to her Maiestie, Master of the Court of Wards and Liveries, the woorthy Chancellour of the Universitie of Cambridge, and one of her Maiesties most honorable privie Counsell.

Right Honorable, while I went about to publish our English Voyages and Discoveries, I was advised by master Walter Cope,<sup>2</sup> a gentleman of rare and excellent parts, to draw them into a short sum, adding that in his opinion that course would prove most acceptable to the world, especially to men of great action and employment. Although in that worke then under the presse I could not conveniently alter my course, yet holding his advise, as in many things else, so in this for sound and very good, I heere present unto your Honour a briefe Treatie most agreeable to the same. The authour whereof was one Antonie Galvano, a Portugall gentleman: of whose pietie towards God, equitie towards men, fidelity to his Prince, love to his countrey, skill in sea causes, experience in Histories, liberalitie towards his nation, vigilance, valour, wisdom and diligence in restoring & settling the decayed state of The Isles of Maluco, (where he remained sixe or seven yeeres governour,) if it please your Honour to read Fernando Lopez de Castagneda, or Ioannes Maffei in their Histories of The East Indies, you shall finde more written in his singular commendation, then a large Epistle can well comprehend.

The worke though small in bulke containeth so much rare and profitable matter, as I know not where to seeke the like, within so narrow and streite a compasse. For heerein is orderly declared, who were The first Discoverours of the world since the time of the flood: by what waies from age to age the spicerie, drugs, and

<sup>1</sup> Of his edition of Galvano.

<sup>2</sup> Whose cabinet of rareties he had examined.

riches of the East were conveyed into The West: what were the causes of the alterations of those courses, as namely the changes of Empires and governments: The ceasing of all trafficke for many yeeres by The Gothes invasion of the Romane Empire: The rising up of The Mahumetane sect; with their overrunning of Afrike and Spaine: The renewing againe, after many yeeres disturbance, of the trafficke and entercourse of The East Indies; first by the Califas of the aforesaid sect: and eftsoones by The Venetians, Ienowais and Florentines. Then followeth the taking of Ceuta in Barbarie by John the first king of Portugall of that name in the yeere of our Lord 1415. whose third sonne Don Henry (which he had by the vertuous Ladie Philippa, daughter of Iohn of Gante, and sister to Henry the fourth, king of England) was the first beginner of all the Portugall discoveries, and continued the same for the space of fortie and three yeeres even to his dying day. By whose encouragement the kings of Portugall found out with much patience and constancie the last way of the bringing the Spicerie into Europe by The Cape of Buona Sperança; and for these hundred yeeres past have become the chiefe Lords of the riches of the Orient. By emulation of which their good endeavours, The Antiles and The west Indies began to be discovered by The kings of Spaine. The infancies of both which most important enterprises, The progresse of the same from time to time, the discoveries of Islands, rivers, baies and harbours, of many rich provinces, kingdomes, and countries; The erecting of castles in sundry convenient Islands and places, with the drawing of trafficke unto the same, where, when, by whom, and by whose authority is heere succinctly and faithfully recorded. So that if it please your Honour at your convenient leisure to take a sea card or a mappe of the world, and carie your eie upon the coast of Africa from Cape de Non, lying on the mayne in 29. degrees of northerly latitude, and follow the shore about the Cape of Buona Sperança till you come to the mouth of The Redde Sea, and passing thence along by the countrey of Arabia crosse over to India, and doubling Cape Comory compasse the gulfes of Bengala, & shooting by the citie of Malacca through The streite of Cincapura, coast al the south of Asia to the northeast part of China, and comprehend in this view all the

Islands from The Açores and Madera in the West, to The Malucoes, The Philippinas, and Iapan in the East: you shall heere finde by order, who were the first discoverours, conquerours and planters in every place: as also the natures and commodities of the soyles, together with the forces, qualities, and conditions of the inhabitants. And that which I mention of the Orient, is likewise to be understood of The Occident.

Now touching the translation, it may please you sir, to be advertised that it was first done into our language by some honest and well affected marchant of our nation, whose name by no meanes I could attaine unto, and that as it seemeth many yeeres ago. For it hath lien by me above these twelve yeeres. In all which space though I have made much inquirie, and sent to Lisbon, where it seemeth it was printed, yet to this day I could never obtaine the originall copie; whereby I might reforme the manifold errorrs of the translator. For whereas a good translator ought to be well acquainted with the proprietie of the tongue out of which, and of that into which he translateth, and thirdly with the subiect or matter it selfe: I found this translator very defective in all three; especially in the last. For the supplying of whose defects I had none other remedie, but to have recourse unto the originall histories, (which as it appeereth are very many, and many of them exceeding rare and hard to come by) out of which the authour himselfe drew the greatest part of this discourse. And in very deede it cost me more travaile to search out the grounds thereof, and to annexe the marginall quotations unto the worke, then the translation of many such bookes would have put me unto. Of which quotations there is yet a farther use; to wit, that such as have leasure sufficient, and are desirous to reade these things more at large, (for brevitie oftentimes breedeth obscuritie) may fully satisfie their desires by having recourse by the helpe therof to the pure fountaines, out of which those waters which are drawne are for the most part most sweete and holsome. Now if any man shall marvel, that in these *Discoveries of The World* for the space almost of fower thousand yeeres here set downe, our nation is scarce fower times mentioned: Hee is to understand, that when this authour ended this discourse, (which was about the yeere of Grace 1555.) there was

little extant of our mens travaux. And for ought I can see, there had no great matter yet come to light, if my selfe had not undertaken that heavie burden, being never therein entertained to any purpose, untill I had recourse unto your selfe, by whose speciall favour and bountifull patronage I have been often much encouraged, and as it were revived. Which travaux of our men, because as yet they be not come to ripenes, and have been made for the most part to places first discovered by others; when they shall come to more perfection, and become more profitable to the adventurers, will then be more fit to be reduced into briefe epitomes, by my selfe or some other endued with an honest zeale of the honour of our countrey. In the meane season nothing doubting of your favourable acceptation of this my labour, I humbly beseech the authour of all goodnes to replenish and enrich you with his best blessings, long to protect and preserve your Honour to the profitable service of her Maiestie, and to the common benefit and good of the Realme. From London this 29. of October 1601 [1601].

Your Honors Chapleyn, in all dutie  
most readie to be commanded,  
*Richard Hakluyt*

### Document 83

#### PREPARATION FOR A VOYAGE TO VIRGINIA, 1603

Upon many probable and reasonable inducements, used unto sundry of the chiefeest merchants of Bristol by Master Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of St. Augustines<sup>1</sup> the Cathedral Church of the said citie, after divers meetings and due consultation, they resolved to set forth a voyage for the farther discoverie of the north part of Virginia. And first they sent the said Master Hakluyt, accompanied with one Master John Angell and Master Robert Saltern (which had beene in the said discoverie the yeere

<sup>1</sup> Actually it was Holy Trinity Church, formerly the Church of St Augustine's Abbey.

before with Captain Bartholomew Gosnold) to obtain permission of Sir Walter Raleigh (which had a most ample patent for all those partes from Queen Elizabeth<sup>1</sup>) to entermeddle and deale in that action. Leave being obtained of him under his hand and seale, they speedily prepared a small ship....

## Document 84

### NOTES ATTRIBUTED TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1603

The places in the East Indies where the subjects of the King of Spayne hath any ffortes and settled residences.

Ormus in the Persian Gulfe, an island fortified and possessed by the Portugalls.

Dyall, Damain et Banam, several fortes in the entrance of the Bay of Cambaiu, by w<sup>ch</sup> fortes the portugalls defend themselves from the force and assaults of the people of that country, and have not any commaund of the country at all, neither are they permitted to restraine any others that offer trade to those countrey men.

Goa, Callicut [deleted] et Cochin, several ffortes by the said portugalls uppon the maine of Narsinga, kept for the like defence against the king and people of those partes, w<sup>ch</sup> country is not tied to the trade of the portingales, but open to all that doe offer them trade.

Mallacca, a fort, and a towne fortified and inhabited, uppon the sea coast of Mallacca, by the Portugals: yet not so possessed but they have been surprised by the people of the country.

Fedora, a castle among the islands of the Molluccas fortified by the Portugalls, and still inhabited by the people of the country and ilandes adjoining. In w<sup>ch</sup> several countries above mentioned the portugalls have not the sole trade, but the people of the country are as ready, and more desirous, to entertaine trade with any other than the portugalls.

<sup>1</sup> Queen Elizabeth died on March 24 of this year.



The places in the Indies where the portugalls have neither fortification or residence, viz:

The iland of Sumatra, a very spacious and large Iland, wherein are many great Citties.

The ilands of Java Maior and Minor, like great and spacious ilands, greatly inhabited with many townes and citties.

All the ilands of the Molluccas, except a fort in Fedora.

The iland of Zelon, w<sup>th</sup> many other greate ilands, very well peopled and inhabited, being fitt for trade.

The great kingdome of Bengalu, Pegu, Mogar et Narsinga.

The great kingdome of Syam.

The whole Empire of Chyna, and many other great kingdomes, in w<sup>ch</sup> last mentioned countries, the portugalls either dare not trade, or trading in them doe it by tolleration.

If a mutual peece shalbe concluded betweene his majestie and the king of Spayne,<sup>1</sup> and both their native countries reciprically open in trade to the subjects of either kingdomes, much more may it seme reasonable that the subjects of either princes may resort to the places and countries of trade where they have no absolute soveraigntye, and dominacion; being the countries of the kinges, who are willing to entertayne all merchants w<sup>ch</sup> resort to their dominions for trade.

Neither hath the king of Spayne any more interest in the said places by his subjectes frequented with trade than his mat<sup>ies</sup> hath in the country of Russia, and yet these partes visited yearly both by ffrench & Dutch.

Wherefore the merchants humbly pray that not only it may be lawfull for them to seek trade in all partes of the Indies not yet by us frequented, butt also in all places there already discovered, and that the harbours, ffortes or havens now possessed by the king of Spaynes subjectes may be as open & fre to the subjects of this kingdome, though not for the trade, yet for succor and releife, as the harbors of his majesties kingdome may be fre and open to the merchants and people of the king of Spayne.

<sup>1</sup> The Treaty of London was concluded in 1604.

## Document 85

### A NOTE OF AUSTRALIA DEL ESPIRITU SANTO BY RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1605

Simon Fernandez, a Pilot of Lisbone, told me Richard Hakluyt, before other Portugals in London, the eighteenth of March 1604: that he having been in the Citie of Lima in Peru, did perfectly understand that four ships and barkes departed from the said Citie of Lima about the yeere 1600, in the moneth of Februarie towards the Philippines. Their general was a Mestizo, that is to say, the Sonne of a Spaniard and an Indian woman. And that seeking to make way toward the Philippines, they were driven with strong northern winds to the south of the equinoctiall line, and fell with divers rich countries and islands, as it seemeth, not far from the Iles of Solomon. One chief place they called Monte de Plata, for the great abundance of silver that is like to be there. For they found two crownes worth of silver, as he reporteth, in two handfulls of dust.

And the people gave them for iron as much and more in quantity of silver. They report that this place is two moneths sailing from Lima, and as much back againe.

Concerning this voyage also: the Licentiate Luis de Tribaldo, a gentleman of quality in the Conde de villa Mediana, the Spanish ambassadors house, told me, Richard Hakluyt, that two yeeres past he saw at Madrid a Captain of quality<sup>1</sup> suing for license to conquer this place, and that he obtained the same. And that divers religious men and Fathers were to goe to convert them to Christianitie. They arrived at their returne from this voyage at Peru in the moneth of August.

<sup>1</sup> Quiros obtained the royal consent to his voyage in March 1603, but did not sail from Peru until December 1605. His discovery of the New Hebrides, and his naming the Southern Lands *Australia del Espiritu Santo*, occurred in 1606, and the news was published in 1607. Hakluyt therefore compiled this note in 1607 or later, but it is inserted here as indicating his work and inquiries in 1605.

## Document 86

### LETTER FROM LUDOVICUS TRIBALDUS TOLETUS TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1605

When you shall see the English returned home out of our Spaine, and can finde no letters sent unto you from us, perhaps, & that worthily, you will accuse us of breach of our friendship & also as little mindful of our promise. Yet we as free from this fault salute you most willingly. For it is not long since we arrived here, that is to say in this Court, a little after the departure of your countriemen into England. Yet made our journie by sea & land indifferent pleasantly & according to our desire. After we had rested our selves a small while, we desired nothing more than to visit Andrew Garsia Cespedes, a man for many respects linked unto us in most straight bands of friendship. He greatly rejoyced of your goodwill towards him: And shewed me a certaine brief but very perspicuous relation of things atchieved by Don Juan de Onate<sup>1</sup> among the Indians of New Mexico. [*Relation follows.*]

Moreover, other newes is brought from New Spaine, to wit, that by commandment of the Vice-roy, the coasts of the South Sea towards Cape Mendocino are discovered,<sup>2</sup> & that exceeding faire & large havens are found neere the Californias, which hitherto no man knew, and that castles are there to be builded and fortified, fit to withstand the force of the enemy; which I saw painted with the precise longitudes & latitudes annexed unto them.

There is no newes come of the voyage to the Iland lately found out toward Nova Guinea, If any newes come I will carefully advertise you thereof.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Juan de Oñate revisited the frontiers from the Gulf of California on the west to Quivira in the north and east between 1598 and 1605" (Brebner, *Explorers of N. America*).

<sup>2</sup> Vizcaino's expedition of 1602-3 (*ibid.*).

<sup>3</sup> Quiros left Spain in 1604 to organise a new expedition in search of Solomon's Islands.

It remaineth that I speake somewhat of the instruction which I promised you, & now send unto you: to wit, that the same was sent to the West Indies, and that according to the precepts therein contained, all things are observed very exactly, and written to the Councell of the Indies: and that Cespedes our friend having diligently read over these writings, hath written an excellent volume; but he hath not obtained leave to publish the same: for they will not have all these things particularly to come to light.

And these be the things which I now thought good to write unto you, my Hakluyt, meaning to have written more if there had beene any further things to have written of. Neither have I yet sought out all those that might informe me of these new discoveries: for I could not yet doe it by reason of the shortness of the time. I hope hereafter I shall have leisure: and I know you will commend mee for my friendship towards you. Farewell from Valladolid the Nones of July 1605.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This letter, almost the only specimen preserved of Hakluyt's later correspondence, indicates how minutely he kept himself informed on matters of discovery. It was in October of this year that he is noted as one of a party of notable men (including Sir William Monson and Lord Mordaunt) at a dinner at the Mitre Tavern. After dinner he went away with one of the guests, Spero Pettinger, to study some papers concerning Sir Francis Drake's navigation. (Bruner Parks, *loc. cit.*)

## Document 87

### INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE VIRGINIA COLONY OF 1606

Instructions given by way of advice by us whom it hath pleased the King's Majesty to appoint of the Council for the intended voyage to Virginia, to be observed by those Captains and company which are sent at this present to plant there.<sup>1</sup>

As we doubt not but you will have especial care to observe the ordinances set down by the King's Majesty and delivered unto you under the Privy Seal; so for your better directions upon your first landing we have thought good to recommend unto your care these instructions and articles following.

When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavour to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land,<sup>2</sup> and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, if the difference be not great, make choice of that which bendeth most toward the North-West for that way you shall soonest find the other sea.<sup>3</sup>

When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle, be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions; but first let Captain Newport discover how far that river may be found navigable, that you make election of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place; for if you make many removes, besides the loss of time, you shall greatly spoil your victuals and your caske, and with great pain transport it in small boats.

<sup>1</sup> Hakluyt, as a member of the Company, probably assisted the Council in drawing up these Instructions.

<sup>2</sup> The elder Hakluyt had repeatedly emphasised the importance of settling on a navigable river.

<sup>3</sup> A Colony was still thought of by many supporters as merely a half-way house to China and the Spice Islands.

But if you choose your place so far up as a bark of fifty tuns will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land; and such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the further up the better. For if you sit down near the entrance, except it be in some island that is strong by nature, an enemy that may approach you on even ground, may easily pull you out; and if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles [in] the land in boats, you shall from both sides of the river where it is narrowest, so beat them with your muskets as they shall never be able to prevail against you.

And to the end that you be not surprized as the French were in Florida by Melindus, and the Spaniard in the same place by the French,<sup>1</sup> you shall do well to make this double provision. First, erect a little stoure at the mouth of the river that may lodge some ten men; with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight, they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly, you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast; for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them, but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you; and if you neglect this, you neglect your safety.

When you have discovered as far up the river as you mean to plant yourselves, and landed your victuals and munitions; to the end that every man may know his charge, you shall do well to divide your six score men into three parts; whereof one party of them you may appoint to fortifie and build, of which your first work must be your storehouse for victuals; the other you may imploy in preparing your ground and sowing your corn and roots; the other ten of these forty you must leave as centinel at the haven's mouth. The other forty you may imploy for two months in discovery of the river above you, and on the country about you; which charge Captain Newport and Captain Gosnold<sup>2</sup> may undertake of these forty discoverers. When they do espie

<sup>1</sup> The story of French Florida and Captain Gourges had been made familiar by Hakluyt (see *supra*, p. 457).

<sup>2</sup> Captain Gosnold had led the preliminary reconnaissance of 1602 and was a friend of Hakluyt. He died in Virginia, Aug. 20, 1607.

any high lands or hills, Captain Gosnold may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and carrying a half dozen pickaxes to try if they can find any minerals. The other twenty may go on by river, and pitch up boughs upon the bank's side, by which the other boats shall follow them by the same turnings. You may also take with them a wherry, such as is used here in the Thames; by which you may send back to the President for supply of munition or any other want, that you may not be driven to return for every small defect.

You must observe if you can, whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and [it] is like enough, that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which run[s] the contrary way towards the East India Sea; for the great and famous rivers of Volga, Tan[a]lis and Dwina have three heads near joynd; and yet the one falleth into the Caspian Sea, the other into the Euxine Sea, and the third into the Paelonian Sea.<sup>1</sup>

In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it; and imploy some few of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals if you have any; and this you must do before that they perceive you mean to plant among them; for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the danger of famine, use and endeavour to store yourselves of the country corn.

Your discoverers that pass over land with hired guides, must look well to them that they slip not from them: and for more assurance, let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of the compass;<sup>2</sup> for that country having no way nor path, if that your guides run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back.

And how weary soever your soldiers be, let them never trust the country people with the carriage of their weapons; for if they

<sup>1</sup> The analogy with the peculiar hydrography of Russia was faulty, but it suggests the cosmographer behind the notes.

<sup>2</sup> This is perhaps the first mention of the use of the simple compass traverse in exploration.

run from you with your shott, which they only fear, they will easily kill them all with their arrows. And whensoever any of yours shoots before them, be sure they may be chosen out of your best marksmen; for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible, and thereby will be bould to assault you.

Above all things, do not advertize the killing of any of your men, that the country people may know it; if they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs they diminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you. If the country be populous, you shall do well also, not to let them see or know of your sick men, if you have any; which may also encourage them to many enterprizes.

You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be over burthened with woods near your town; for all the men you have, shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year; besides that it may serve for a covert for your enemies round about.

Neither must you plant in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthfull. You shall judge of the good air by the people; for some part of that coast where the lands are low, have their people blear eyed, and with swollen bellies and legs; but if the naturals be strong and clean made, it is a true sign of a wholesome soil.

You must take order to draw up the pinnace that is left with you, under the fort: and take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small kedge to ride by; least some ill-dispositioned persons slip away with her.

You must take care that your marriners that go for wages, do not mar your trade; for those that mind not to inhabite, for a little gain will debase the estimation of exchange, and hinder the trade for ever after; and therefore you shall not admit or suffer any person whatsoever, other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Counsel there, to buy any merchandizes or other things whatsoever.

It were necessary that all your carpenters and other such like workmen about building do first build your storehouse and those other rooms of publick and necessary use before any house be



set up for any private person: and though the workman may belong to any private persons yet let them all work together first for the company and then for private men.

And seeing order is at the same price with confusion, it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even and by a line, that your street may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place and every street's end opening into it; that from thence, with a few field pieces, you may command every street throughout; which market place you may also fortify if you think it needfull.

You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captaine Newport of all that is done, what height you are seated, how far into the land, what commodities you find, what soil, woods and their several kinds, and so of all other things else to advertise particularly; and to suffer no man to return but by pasport from the President and Counsel, nor to write any letter of anything that may discourage others.<sup>1</sup>

Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the Giver of all Goodness, for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Captain Newport was to return for further supplies directly the Colony was seated. When the Old Virginia Colony was planted much harm was done by the damaging reports of those who were dissatisfied with what they found, and Hariot's *True Report* was written to contradict them.

<sup>2</sup> The expedition sailed on Dec. 20, 1606. Hakluyt had the Royal Warrant (dated Nov. 21, 1606) permitting him to go in person to Virginia without resigning his two prebends, his chaplaincy or his Wetheringsett rectory. Drayton's *Ode to the Virginian Voyage*, written in the spring, concluded with the verse:

Thy Voyages attend,  
 Industrious Hackluit,  
 Whose reading shall inflame  
 Men to seek fame,  
 And much commend  
 To after-times thy wit.

## Document 88

### EXTRACT FROM RICHARD HAKLUYT'S TRANSLATION OF GROTIUS' *MARE LIBERUM*, 1609<sup>1</sup>

#### The Free Sea

or

A disputation concerning the right w<sup>ch</sup> ye Hollanders ought to have, to the Indian Marchandize for trading.

#### The Chapters of the disputation.

That by the lawe of Nations any man may saile freely to whomsoever.

That the Portugalls have no right of dominion over those places, by title of Invention, unto whome the Hollanders do saile.

That the Portugalls have no right of dominion over the Indians by tittle of Warre.

That the Sea to the Indians, or the right of sayling thether, is not proper to the Portugalls by title of Possession.

That the Sea, or right of sayling, belongeth not properlye to the Portugalls by the Popes donation.

That the Sea, or right of sayling, is not proper to ye Portugalls by title of Prescription or Custome.

That by the lawe of Nations, traffique is free to all.

That traffique with the Indians is not proper to the Portugalls by title of the Popes gift.

That traffique with the Indians is not proper to the Portugalls by right of Prescription or Custome.

That the Portugalls inclyne not to equity in forbydding the Trade.

That the right of the Indian trade is to be retayned of ye Hollanders both by peece, truce and warre.

<sup>1</sup> Dr Bruner Parks, quoting Westminster Abbey records, states that Hakluyt acted as Steward from Michaelmas 1607 to Michaelmas 1608, and hence would have little leisure for geographical work.

## To the Princes &amp; free States of the Christian World.

It is no lesse ancyent, than a pestilent error, wherew<sup>th</sup> many men (but they cheifly who abound in power and riches) persuade themselves, or (as I thinke more trulye) go about to persuade, that Right and Wrong are distinguished, not according to their owne nature, but by a certaine vaine opinion and custome of men. These men therefore thinke, that both lawes & shewe of equity were invented for this purpose, that ther discussions and tumults might be restrayned who are borne in the condition of obeying, but unto such as are placed in the height of fortune, they say that all right is to be measured by the wyll, and the wyll by profittes. And it is not so great a wonder that this absurd opinion, and altogether contraye to Nature, hath procured unto itself some little auctoritye, seing to that common disease of mankind (whereby as vice, so we followe the defence thereof) the craft and subtilete of flatterers is added, whereunto all power is subject. But on the contrary part, in all ages there have been some wise & religious men (and of seemlie condition) who would plucke this persuasion out of the mindes of simple men, and convince the others (being defenders thereof) of impudence. For they declared God to be the Creator & Governor of the world, especially the father of the nature of man, w<sup>ch</sup> therefore not as other living creatures he severed into dyvers kinds and dyvers differences, but would have them of one kind, and to be conteyned under one name.

## Chap. 1

... we will lay this certaine rule of the Lawe of Nations (w<sup>ch</sup> they call primarye) as the foundation, the reason whereof is cleare & immutable. That it is lawful for any Nation to go to any other, and to trade w<sup>th</sup> it. God himself speaketh this in Nature, seeing he will not have all those thinges whereof the life of man standeth in nede to be sufficiently ministered by Nature in all places: and also vouchsafeth some Nations to excell others in Arts. To what end are these thinges, but that he would mayntayne humane friendship by the mutuall wants & plentye, lest enye one thinking themselves sufficient for themselves for this only thinge should be made insociable.

They therefore that take away this, take away that most laudable society of mankind, they take away the mutuall occasions of doing good, and to conclude, vyolate Nature herself. Ffor even that Ocean wherewith God hath compassed the earth, is navigable on everye side round about, and the setled or extraordinarye blasts of wynds, not always blowing from the same quarter, and sometymes from everye quarter, do they not sufficiently signifye, that Nature hath granted a passage for all Nations unto all? This Seneca thinketh the greatest benefitte of Nature, that even by ye wynd she hath mingled Nations, scattered in regard of place, & hath so divided all her goods into Countrys, that mortall men must nedes traffique amonge themselves. This right therefore equallye appertayneth to all Nature: w<sup>ch</sup> the most famous lawyers enlarge so farre, that they deny any Commonwealth or Prince to be able to forbyd others to come unto their subjects and trade with them. . . .

## Document 89

### EPISTLE DEDICATORY TO THE COUNCIL OF VIRGINIA BY RICHARD HAKLUYT,<sup>1</sup> 1609

To the Right Honourable, the Right Worshipfull Counsellors, and others the cheerefull adventurors for the advancement of that Christian and noble plantation in Virginia.

This worke, right Honourable, right Worshipfull, and the rest, though small in shew, yet great in substance, doth yeeld much light to our enterprise now on foot: whether you desire to know the present and future commodities of our countrie; or the qualities and conditions of the Inhabitants, or what course is best to be taken with them.

Touching the commodities, besides the generall report of Cabeça de Vaca to Charles the Emperour (who first travelled through a great part of the Inland of Florida, next adioyning

<sup>1</sup> Preface to his translation of de Soto, under the title of *Virginia Richly Valued*.

- upon our Virginia) That Florida was the richest countrie of the world; and, that after hee had found clothes made of cotton wooll, he saw gold and silver, and stones of great value: I referre you first to the rich mines of gold reported to be in the province of Yupaha, and described in the twelfth Chapter of this Treatise to come within our limits: And againe, to the copper hatchets found in Cutifachiqui, standing upon the River of Santa Helena, which were said to have a mixture of gold. It seemeth also that the last Chronicler of the West Indies, Antonio de Herrera, speaking of the foresaid River of Santa Helena, which standeth in 32. degrees and an halfe, alludeth to the province of Yupaha, in these words: Y el oro, y plata, que hallaron, no era de aquella tierra, sino de 60. leguas, adentro al norte, de los pueblos dichos Otapales y Olagatanos, adonde se intiende, que ay minas de oro, plata, y cobre. That is to say, That the gold and silver which they found, was not of that countrie (of Santa Helena) but 60. leagues distant toward the North, of the townes called Otapales and Olagatanos, where we understand that there are mines of gold, silver, and copper. By which reckoning these rich mines are in the latitude of 35. degrees and an halfe. I desire you likewise to take knowledge of the famous golden province of Chisca, stretching further to the North, whereof the Cacique of Coste gave notice to Ferdinando de Soto in the towne of Chiaha, affirming, that there were mines of copper, and of another mettall of the same colour, save that it was finer, and of a farre more perfect lustre, and farre better in sight, and that they used it not so much, because it was softer. And the selvesame thing was before told the Governour in Cutifachiqui: who sent two Christians from Chiaha with certaine Indians which knew the countrie of Chisca, and the language thereof, to view it, and to make report of that which they should finde. We likewise reade not long after, that the Governour set forward to seeke a province called Pacaha, which hee was informed to be neere unto Chisca, where the Indians told him, that there was gold. And in another place hee saith; That from Pacaha hee sent thirtie horsemen and fiftie footmen to the province of Caluça, to see if from thence he might travell to Chisca, where the Indians said, there was a worke of gold and copper. So that here is foure times mention, and that in sundrie places, of the rich and famous goldē
- Chap. 35.*
- Decad. 3, lib. 8. cap. 8.*
- Chap. 15.*
- Chap. 23.*
- Chap. 24.*

mines of Chisca, and that they lie beyond the mountaines toward the North, over which they were not able to travell for the roughnes thereof. But what neede I to stand upon forren testimonies, since Master Thomas Heriot, a man of much iudgement in these causes, signified unto you all, at your late solemne meeting at the house of the right honourable the Earle of Exeter, how to the Southwest of our old fort in Virginia, the Indians often informed him, that there was a great melting of red mettall, reporting the manner in working of the same. Besides, our owne Indians have lately revealed either this or another rich mine of copper or gold in a towne called Ritanoë, neere certaine mountaines lying West of Roanoac.

Another very gainfull commoditie is, the huge quantitie of excellent perles, and little babies and birds made of them, that were found in Cutifachiqui. The abundance whereof is reported to be such, that if they would have searched divers graves in townes thereabout, they might have laded many of their horses. Neither are the Turkie stones and cotton wooll found at Guasco to be forgotten, nor passed over in silence. *Chap. 14.*

But that, which I make no small account of, is, the multitude of Oxen,<sup>1</sup> which, from the beginning of the 16. to the end of the 26. Chapter, are nine severall times made mention of, and that along from Chiahah, Coste, Pacaha, Coligoa, and Tulla, still toward the North, to wit, toward us, there was such store of them, that they could keepe no corne for them: and that the Indians lived upon their flesh. The haire of these Oxen is likewise said to be like a soft wooll, betweene the course and fine wooll of sheepe: and that they use them for coverlets, because they are very soft and woollled like sheep: and not so onely, but they make bootes, shooes, targets, and other things necessarie of the same. Besides the former benefits, their young ones may be framed to the yoke, for carting and tillage of our ground. And I am in good hope, that ere it be long we shall have notice of their being neerer us, by that which I reade in the Italian relation of Cabeça de Vaca, the first finder of them; which writeth, That they spread themselves within the countrie above foure hundred leagues. Moreover, Vasques de Coronado, and long after him, Antonio de Espejo (whose voiaages are at large in my third

<sup>1</sup> Buffaloes or bison.

volume) travelled many leagues among these heards of Oxen, and found them from 33. degrees ranging very farre to the North and Northeast.

A fourth chiefe commoditie wee may account to be the great number of Mulberrie trees, apt to feede Silke-wormes to make silke: whereof there was such plentie in many places, that, though they found some hempe in the countrie, the Spaniards made ropes of the barks of them for their brigandines, when they were to put to sea for Nova Hispania.

A fifth is the excellent and perfect colours, as black, white, greene, yellow, and red, and the materials to dye withall, so often spoken of in this discourse: among which I have some hope to bring you to the knowledge of the rich graine of Cochonillio, so much esteemed, and of so great price. I speake nothing of the severall sorts of passing good grapes for Wine and Raisons.

*Chap. 31. &  
32.*

Neither is it the least benefit, that they found salt made by the Indians at Cayas, and in two places of the province of Aguacay: the manner also how the Inhabitants make it, is very well worth the observation.

*Chap. 31. &  
32.*

One of the chiefe of all the rest may be the notice of the South Sea, leading us to Japan and China, which I finde here twice to be spoken of. Whereof long since I have written a discourse, which I thinke not fit to be made over common.

For closing up this point, The distances of places, the qualities of the soiles, the situations of the regions, the diversities and goodnesse of the fruits, the severall sorts of beasts, the varietie of fowles, the difference betweene the Inhabitants of the mountaines and the plaines, and the riches of the Inland in comparison of the Seacoast, are judiciously set downe in the conclusion of this booke, whereunto for mine owne ease I referre you.

To come to the second generall head, which in the beginning I proposed, concerning the manners and dispositions of the Inhabitants: among other things, I finde them here noted to be very eloquent and well spoken, as the short Orations, interpreted by John Ortiz, which lived twelve yeeres among them, make sufficient prooffe. And the author, which was a gentleman of Elvas in Portugall, employed in all the action, whose name is not set downe, speaking of the Cacique of Tulla, saith, that aswell

this Cacique, as the others, and all those which came to the Governour on their behalfe, delivered their message or speech in so good order, that no Oratour could utter the same more eloquently. But for all their faire and cunning speeches, they are not overmuch to be trusted: for they be the greatest traitors of the world, as their manifold most craftie contrived and bloody treasons, here set down at large, doe evidently prove. They be also as unconstant as the wethercock, and most readie to take all occasions of advantages to doe mischief. They are great liars and dissemblers; for which faults often times they had their deserved payments. And many times they gave good testimonie of their great valour and resolution. To handle them gently, while gentle courses may be found to serve, it will be without comparison the best: but if gentle polishing will not serve, then we shall not want hammerours and rough masons enow, I meane our old soldiours trained up in the Netherlands, to square and prepare them to our Preachers hands. To conclude, I trust by your Honours and Worships wise instructions to the noble Governour, the worthy experimented Lieutenant and Admirall, and other chiefe managers of the businesse, all things shall be so prudently carried, that the painfull Preachers shall be revered and cherished, the valiant and forward soldiour respected, the diligent rewarded, the coward emboldened, the weake and sick relieved, the mutinous suppressed, the reputation of the Christians among the Salvages preserved, our most holy faith exalted, all Paganisme and Idolatrie by little and little utterly extinguished. And here reposing and resting my selfe upon this sweete hope, I cease, beseeching the Almighty to blesse this good work in your hands to the honour and glorie of his most holy name, to the inlargement of the dominions of his sacred Maiestie, and to the generall good of all the worthie Adventurers and undertakers. From my lodging in the Colledge of Westminster this 15. of Aprill, 1609.<sup>1</sup>

By one publikely and anciently devoted to Gods service,  
and all yours in this so good action,

*Richard Hakluyt*

<sup>1</sup> The 'third supply', a fleet of 9 ships and 500 persons, set sail for Virginia in May 1609.



## Document 90

### EXTRACTS TAKEN OUT OF TWO LETTERS FROM JOSIAS LOGAN TO RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1611

To Master Hakluyt, Prebend of Westminster.

I. There use to come hither in the Winter about two thousand Samoieds with their Commodities, which may be such as we dreamed not on yet. For by chance one came to us with a piece of an Elephants tooth, which he said he bought of a Samoiéd. And here are men called Tingussies,<sup>1</sup> whose Country is beyond the Rivers of Obi, and Taes: and bordereth upon the great River Yenisse which is a good River and a deepe, and falleth into the Sea Naromzie. And it should seeme it is not farre from China. Therefore you may conceive what hope there is of this Enterprize, if it please God it may be followed as it ought to be.<sup>2</sup> Thus beseeching Almightye God to blesse you and us, I commit you to the protection of him who is the giver of all goodnesse. Jul. 24. 1611.

II. There come two or three thousand Samoieds hither to trade with their Sables, Beavers, Blacke Foxes, Squirrels, Wolfes, Rosomackes, Ermines. And here is caught in September good store of Salmon, Traine of a certain fish called a Bealouga, and Morsses, and Seales Oyle in the Summer time, and White Foxes & Feathers. I had some conference with a Russe, who told me that the Samoieds told him, that there lye Minchins, which in their Language is strangers, buried in the sand in coffins, with their armes a crosse their brests: which they estimate to be aboute sixtie yeeres ago: and that they found writing tables in one of their pockets & other small trifles which they tooke away. The Vaygats is sometimes open & sometimes shut: and upon them groweth Christall of the Mount. The Russes & Permacks trade yeerely with them of the River Obi, and beyond. They goe by sea into the great Bay beyond Pechora, called Yowgorsky Shar: into which there fall four rivers: the Eastermost whereof they call Cara Reca, or the Blacke River:

<sup>1</sup> Tungus.

<sup>2</sup> Both the North-east and North-west Passages were still receiving Hakluyt's earnest attention.

beyond which they passe unto another called Moetnaia Reca: then they come to a Voloc or necke of land, which continueth but three Versts: over which they draw their boats & goods and so come to another river called Zelena Reca, or the Greene River, which bringeth them into Obi: into which on the Eastern side the River Taes falleth, making but one mouth with the River Obi, being shoald: and they report it to bee as broad toward the mouth as a man can discerne over, having many Ilands therein.

Moreover there is another great River, called Yenissey, beyond Taes: which they say is rather bigger & deeper than Obi; and it runneth up into the land no man knoweth how farre: although they have discovered some fourteene days rowing up therein: neither can they learne of the inhabitants how farre it stretcheth: whom they call Tingsussey: who are a proper people of themselves: And the Samoieds report that they have travelled so farre, that they came within sight of a White Citie or Towne: which should seem to be builded of stone, for they durst not goe to make triall: and they heard great ringing of bells. Also, they say that they saw beasts but they were not like their deere, for they had a great mane, a long tail, no hornes, and their footing was round, not cloven, as their deerers are: and they use to ride upon their backs and not to draw in sleds as their deere use to doe. These I assure myselfe are horses. And further they report that there came people unto them all made of iron, their heads, armes, hands & legges: so that neither arrows, swordes nor speares could enter: which as I conjecture were people in Armour. For they said that two hundred of them they thought were able to conquer their Realme. By this you may gather that they are not farre from Cataia & China.<sup>1</sup>

Thus have I shewd unto you the greatest secret & the nearest to the truth that I know. Requesting you, if you thinke it meet, that the Right Honourable the Earle of Salisburie<sup>2</sup> might have a copy thereof. Thus wishing you health & prosperitie in this World, and felicitie in the world to come, I cease

[From Pechora, August 16. 1611]

<sup>1</sup> The Cossacks had reached the Upper Yenesei by this date.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Cecil.

## Document 91

### THE WILL OF RICHARD HAKLUYT, 1612

IN THE NAME OF GOD AMEN. The twente day of August in the yeare of Lord God one thousande six hundreth and twelve, I Richard Hackluit, person of Wetheringsett in the countie of Suffolke, being of good and perfect memorie thanked be God, revokinge and frustrating hereby all former wills or testaments whatsoever heretofore by me thought upon or made, doe make declare and ordaine this my last will or testament hereafter followinge. First I commend my soule into the hands of God from whence I received the same, trusting thorow the only merits of Jesus Christ and the sanctification of the blessed Spirit to be both in body and soule a member of His most holy and heavenly kingdome. And as concerninge my body I yeald it (by course of nature and God his ordinance) unto the earth to be nevertheless decentlie buried (in hope of a happie resurrection) by the discretion and charges of my executor.

Item, I give unto Edmond Hackluit my only sonne and to his heires for ever all that my manour called Bridg-place<sup>1</sup> with all royalties, perogatives, proffitts, and advantages, with all the landes meadows pastures woods underwoods or other the appurtenances to the said manour anyway belonginge or appertayninge in as full and ample manner as I lately purchased the same of Mr. John Scriven late of Barbican in the suburbs of the cittie of London. Also I give unto the said Edmond Hackluit and to his heirs for ever all that my tenement with the landes thereunto belonginge lyinge and beinge in Leominster Oare now demised by my brother Oliver Hackluit for sixtene nobles a yeare, further I give unto the said Edmond Hackluit and to his heires for ever all those my tenements lying in the north west end of Tuttell-streete in the cittie of Westminster w<sup>ch</sup> I lately purchased in fee of one Mr — Line, neere adjoyning to the inn called the White Harte upon condition neverthe-

<sup>1</sup> In Suffolk, newly purchased in 1612 (Bruner Parks, *loc. cit.*).

lesse hereafter followinge and not otherwise, that is to saye that the said Edmond or his assigns doe paye or cause to be payed unto Mr. Thomas Peters late of Fleete Streete in London to the use of Francis Hackluit the wife of me Richard Hackluit the full and whole somme of three hundreth pounds of lawfull English money, in full contentacion and satisfaction of a certain bond obligatorie heretofore by me sealed and delivered for the contentment reliefe and maintynance of the said Francis, in such manner & forme as in the said bond is specified. Howbeit my meeninge intent & will is that yf the said Francis or her assigns doe deliver unto the handes of my said sonne Edmond the said bond obligatorie whereby it may be lawfully cancelled and be freed and for ever lawfully discharged from the said dett of three hundreth pounds, and of all penalties or forfaytures there upon arising or to arise at any tyme hereafter within one moneth and immediately ensuinge after my decease, without fraud cooven<sup>1</sup> or delaye, that then I will that after the deliverye of the bond aforesaid that all the said tenements lyinge & beinge in the north-west end of Tuttell-streete aforesaid devised to my sonne Edmond, shal be and remain fully and wholye to my said wife Francis and to her heirs for ever as fully & whollye as I had before appointed them to my said sonne and his heires, any gifte or graunt whatsoever to the contrarye in any wise notwithstanding. Also, I will that the said Francis my wife shall have all plate Jewelles and houshold stuffe of what nature soever which are in the possession of me in any place whereof the said Francis was possessed in the tyme of her widowhood by administration.

Item, I give & bequeath unto Oliver Hackluit my brother the somme of tenn pounds to be payd unto him or his assigns within one yeare next ensuing after my decease, to be bestowed amongste his sonnes at his own discretion. Item, I give and bequeath to Joane Hackluit, daughter of the said Oliver, other tenne pounds, to be payed unto her within two months nexte & immediately ensuing after the day of her marriage the same being lawfully demanded.

Item, I give unto my sister Katherine Morer,<sup>2</sup> dwellinge in

<sup>1</sup> Coozen or deceit.

<sup>2</sup> Moore according to the will of Edmond Hakluyt.

Holbourne, the somme of twentie pounds, tenn pounds whereof I will to be payed unto her within one month after my decease, and the other tenn pounds within six months after my decease.

Item, I give & bequeath to John Morer, her sonne, fiftie shillings to be payed unto him within one yeare after my decease and likewise other fiftie shillings to Barbary Moorer her daughter to be payed her also within one yeare after my decease.

Item, I give to Mistress Longe, dwellinge in the Tower, twentie shillings. Also to Mr. Thomas Peters and to his wife to either of them twentie shillings, which last three poundes I will shalbe payed within one yeare after my decease.

Item, I give unto Mr. Edward Riggs twentie shillings & my best cassock, desiringe him to preach a funerall sermon at my buriall.

Item, I give unto Mr. Colman my curate<sup>1</sup> tenn shillings and my old gown.

Item, I give to my sister Bacon tenn shillinges, and to my servant Thomas Button tenn shillings, and to Lionell Pearson five shillinges, and to Mary Upson three shillings & fourpence. Also I give to the townsmen of Wetheringset and Brockford,<sup>2</sup> to be distributed to the poore people by the discretion of my executor and the churchwardens for the tyme beinge, the somme of five markes to be payed within one year after my decease.

Item, I doe give to the worshipfull college of Westminster, the somme of five pounds to be payed into the hands of the treasurer within sixe months after my decease, towards the repaying of the north windowe of the said church. Also whereas I have a table a bedstead and certaine furniture of hangings, pictures and other implements in a chamber belonginge to me in the Savoye I doe give and bequeath them all unto the said house to the use of the Dorturye<sup>3</sup> their. Also, whereas I have at Bristow sundry implements hangings and furniture their in my lodgings & chambers, I do freely give all to the only use & benefitt of the said Colledge, to be disposed at the discretion of the right worshipfull Mr. Deane.

<sup>1</sup> Presumably at Wetheringsett. There was a vicar (perhaps Edward Riggs) at Gedney, the living presented to Hakluyt by his brother Oliver.

<sup>2</sup> A neighbouring hamlet.

<sup>3</sup> Dormitory.

Item, I give to my cousen Thomas Hackluit two doublets, two paire of britches, one of my best shirts & twenty shillings in money. I give to Oliver Cogram my good friend, one of my old cassocks, an old doublett, and a paire of old britches, and a paire of coarse shetes. Further I give to my sister Katherine one of my gownes, which my sonne Edmond thinketh good, and to be delivered before winter. Lastly I give to my lovinge cousen Mistress Dorothe Patrickson the somme of fyve poundes to be payed unto her within six months after my decease. And likewise I give to the worshipfull Mr. John Davyes her sonne, the somme of other five pounds, to be likewise payed him within six months after my decease, whom I heartelye intreate & apoint to be the only supraviseur of this my last will and testament, that accordingly in all payments it may be truleye & effectually performed, whose counsaile I have used heretofore in my two later purchases of Bridge place in Suffolke and my tenements in Tuttell streete as is afore remembered. Also I give to Mr. Richard Ireland and to Mr. Wilson now scholemaster of Westminster, to either of them tenn shillings as a token of my love and good will towards them, and to Michael Locke the younger<sup>1</sup> other tenn shillings. And I ordayne Edmond Hackluit my sonne my sole & only executor of this my last will & testament, unto whom I give hereby all my ready money, plate, jewells, billes, bondes, detts & dutyes, householdstuffe goods cattell corne implements chattels or whatsoever else to me belongeth or appertayneth to the end he shall paye my debts and legacies with all funerall expenses and undertake the provinge of this my will and all other things which in right belongeth to an executor. In wittness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand and seale the day and yeare first above written. By me Richard Hakluyt, person of Wetheringset. These being witnesses, Edward Riggs, John Colman, David Allshais.

[Probate was granted to Edmond Hakluyt on Novr. 23. 1616.]

<sup>1</sup> Son of his old friend the Secretary of the Muscovy Co.

## Document 92

### DEDICATION OF THE DIALOGUES IN THE MALAIAN TONGUE, 1614

To the truly Honorable and right worthy Knight, SIR THOMAS SMITH, Governor of the East-India, Moscovia, Northwest Passages, Sommer Ilands Companies, and Treasurer for the first Colonie in Virginia: Augustine Spalding wisheth all happinesse, and encrease of honour.

Honourable Sir, the world hath just occasion to take knowledge of your continual travels, cares and endeavours for the good of those sundry Companies, whereof by public assent you have been chosen Governour. Your erecting of the Lecture of Navigation at your owne Expenses, for the better instruction of our Mariners in that most needful art: your setting downe of better orders in dispatching forth of our East Indian flotes: your employment with extraordinarie entertainment of skilfull Mathematicians and Geographers in the South and North partes of the world: This your providence and liberalitie is like, in time to come, to worke many speciall good effects. Lastly, you have caused these Dialogues of the languages of the Isle of Madagascar and of the Malaian tongues, presented unto you by Master Richard Hackluyt,<sup>1</sup> a singular furtherer of all new discoveries and honest trades, to be put forth in our English tongue, because of the speciall use and benefit which your Factors and servants, residing in all the Southeast Islands of the world, may reape thereby. And that nothing might be omitted on your behalfe, it hath pleased you further to aske mine opinion, and to enjoyne me to take speciall care for the correction of such errors as were committed in the first edition,<sup>2</sup> because of my eleven or twelve yeeres employment in those Countries, as servant and factor of your Worship and the Companie: which your commandment I have performed in the best sort I can. . . .

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 482, for Hakluyt's insistence on the importance of learning the native languages. In this same year he persuaded Ralph Hansdon to publish his mariners' edition of Pitsicus' *Trigonometria*, dedicated to the founders of the Lecture on Navigation.

<sup>2</sup> This proves that Spalding merely revised Hakluyt's version, as indicated also in the Court Minutes for 22 Jan. 1614 (Cal. S.P., E. Indies).

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